NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

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AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
At 142, Nassau Street, New-York.

Sydney Howard Gay,
Maria Weston Chapman,
Edmund Quincy,
} Editors.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

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H. M. HENRY, PRINTER.

Pro-Slavery.

From the Christian Register.

COLONIZATION.

We have always been at a loss to account for the neglect with which the Colonization scheme has been treated by the great mass of the community, and the violent opposition it has encountered from the Anti-Slavery Society. It seems to us one of the most noble and Christian enterprises of our time, promising to introduce civilization and Christianity into Africa, and thus bless, benefit, and elevate the African race, more extensively and permanently than aught else that can be done for them. Were we the leader and founder of the Anti-Slavery Society, the most urgent and earnest advocate of the immediate abolition of Slavery in this country, we should yet be disposed to aid and encourage, to the extent of our ability and influence, the Colonization Society, as calculated in its ultimate issues, to confer upon the whole colored race, a good far beyond the immediate freedom of the comparatively small portion who are slaves in this country. We are ignorant of the early history of the Colonization Society, and of the character of its immediate founders; but even if that be true, which we have sometimes heard said, that it originated with slaveholders, moved by a desire to rid the country of free colored persons as a means of security and perpetuity to Slavery, time has shown that it cannot be confined to the narrow and selfish limits of its originators. If it did not at first distinctly set it forth, it implied, and now embodies, and aims to carry out the idea, that the negro is a man, capable, under favorable circumstances, of improvement and elevation in the scale of intellectual, moral, and social condition, and in one direction it seeks to surround him with these favorable circumstances.

This idea is essentially Anti-Slavery. In proportion as it prevails in the community, it prepares the way for abolition. It certainly cannot operate to retard or prevent it. We do not perceive that there need be any opposition between the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies. In different ways, by different instrumentalities, they are both aiming at the same great object, the good of man, of the African race especially. Neither scheme is sufficient in itself. It would not embrace the whole of our Christian duty and effort in relation to this portion of the human race, merely to break the fetters of the slave in this country. In God's name, for Humanity's sake, as Christians, for consistency's sake, as freemen, and advocates of freedom, let this be done as soon as it can; but there are higher and broader views to be taken of the condition and prospects of this part of the human family; and the Colonization Society, however narrow its original movement, acts in reference to these, and amid opposition and difficulty, in confessedly small and humble beginnings, it has commenced a work which we verily believe, in the providence of that God who "is not slack as some men count slackness, and to whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," will eventuate in great and glorious results. Those little dots of civilization and Christianity, made by the Colonization Society upon the coast of Africa, in the eye of the philanthropist and Christian, are spots fraught with as much interest as any upon the face of the globe. They are destined, we believe, to be fountains of living waters for the regeneration of Africa, and the healing of the woes which at home and abroad have been endured by its neglected and abused races.

rom the Cincinnati Daily Times.

MR. ADAMS'S LETTER.—FREEDOM, SLAVERY, EMANCIPATION, &c.

John Quincy Adams's letter to Miss Thaxter, of Hingham, in reply to an invitation to celebrate the First of August, the anniversary of Emancipation in the British West India Islands, in that place, is going the rounds of a certain class of newspapers, generally with approbatory notices. There is great weight of authority in the name of the writer, and many people are willing to, and do often, believe assertions on authority, because it saves them the trouble of thinking; and there is something flattering to one's self love and vanity in agreeing in opinion with a distinguished man. We, too, have read this letter with the hope of finding in the words of "the sage, the patriot, and philosopher," something which would relieve doubt, illumine the darkness of Slavery, and point out the way of redemption to the captive; but we must confess we have been disappointed. We are willing to admit that the fault is with us, but we must insist that no light has reached our mind from this document, in reference to the great questions of Slavery and Freedom. It is the old common-place remedy of legislating men free, and creating, by statute law, freemen out of animals. A mere act of Parliament, whatever its provisions may be, leaves men just where it found them. The laudation of British statesmen for the act of emancipation, is disgustingly sickening, when we know that more ignorant, depraved, beastly creatures do not exist on the face of God's earth, than are to be found by hundreds of thousands, in England itself, in her mines, collieries, manufactories, and even amongst her agricultural population. They are legally free—just the same as the negroes in the West India Islands are free; and the negroes will receive just as much benefit from their legal freedom as the poor, wretched, depraved, dying cripples, who live in a land "where nought but freemen live," receive from their nominal, political freedom, and no more. How can they? The negroes are *free* in their own country, and in what respect, we ask, are they better off than in the West Indies? They murder, rob, and enslave their fellows, just like the whites! Freedom and Slavery to be given and taken away by legislation! Fudge!

We incline to believe, that all the philanthropy of British statesmen is but policy, at last, and we must continue to think so, as long as the Government neglect the children of England, and permits them to pine away their lives in bitter poverty, helpless ignorance, and abject bondage, ten times more galling and debasing than any negro servitude we have ever read of. The reports made to Parliament by Commissioners instituted by itself, present pictures disgustingly horrible and heart-harrowing—not isolated cases, but of general similitude amongst a large population. What is done for these?—nothing. Naked children, of both sexes, who see daylight but once a week, herd together in the collieries, and drag, on all fours, like beasts of burden, baskets of coals, week after week, and year after year, and who never heard the name of God—mere brutes in human form, and hardly that, excite no sympathy. Not a mite of the immense incomes of the nobility could be extorted from them for these fellow-creatures; the revenue must be kept up, the landlords must receive large rents, trade must flourish, and the poor ground down, that England may undersell other nations, and continue to heap up wealth. Accursed lust! debasing avarice! Well has Solomon said, "the *love* of money is the root of all evil."

It is the intellectual, the high and self-styled noble, that require emancipation, from their fallen nature. They are incapable of imparting to the negro what will qualify him for personal liberty; they are slaves themselves, to a more galling, deadly, damning evil, than the poor blackamoor. Mr. Adams would begin at the wrong end of society to clear the stream—the fountain with which he would purify, is itself poisonous—a stream from a higher and holier fount must descend and flow through the upper classes, cleansing, as it goes, down to the poor slaves, before we can expect to see the fetters really riven from the oppressed.

From the Liberty Press.

CHARACTERISTIC.

We are not more surprised that Garrison should derive an argument for his "Come-outerism," from the opposition which that delusion receives from sober men, than that he should mistake the slaveholder's *construction* of the Constitution for the Constitution itself. The one is just about as sensible as the other. Both inferences involve the same philosophy. We wish, however, some stronger proof of the truthfulness of our positions, than the fact that certain persons *oppose* us; and we shall not consent to stamp the Constitution of the United States with pro-slaveryism, because *slaveholders* so construe it. As soon might the Bible be given up, because slaveholding Doctors of Divinity construe its readings to the support of Slavery. The Non-Resistants, in their efforts to convict Liberty-men of perjury, or faithlessness to Humanity by swearing to support the Constitution of the United States, proceed upon the supposition that they swear to support the *slaveholder's* construction of that instrument, than which nothing can be more false. Gen. Jackson was right once in his life—we refer to the instance when he said he should construe the Constitution as *he* understood it. This is the true intent and obligation of the oath to support the Constitution. To swear to support another person's "understanding," is to swear to compromise our own judgment and conscience, on entering upon official duty—a sacrifice from which conscientious men may well beg to be excused—but a sacrifice which the oath of office does not demand, but on the contrary forbids.

Selections.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, EASTERN DISTRICT.

Agreeably to a call of the Executive Committee, the Society convened, Eighth month (August) 12, 1844, in the Baptist church, in the borough of Norristown.

ELIJAH F. PENNYPACKER, the President of the Society, called the meeting to order.

Remarks were made by J. Miller M'Kim, expressing the hope that the meeting would be conducted with a dignity and decorum becoming abolitionists, and with that continued reference to the Divine Presence, which should always mark the deliberations of those engaged in so momentous a cause.

Prayer was offered by Henry Grew.

On motion,

Resolved, That the members of the Anti-Slavery Societies or Committees, and all friendly to immediate emancipation, in this State, New Jersey, and Delaware, be requested to take seats as members of this meeting; and that all persons present, of whatever opinions, be invited to participate in the discussions.

The following Committees were then appointed:

On Business—Thomas Earle, G. H. Earle, C. C. Burleigh, Grace Anna Lewis, John Thomas, Sam'l D. Hastings, Hiram Corson, and Edwin Fussell.

On Finance—Edward M. Davis, Sarah Pugh, Thomas Whitson, E. W. Hambleton, Hannah Cox.

On Nominations—B. C. Bacon, Joseph Gibbons, Wm. Wright, E. J. Neall, Mary Earle, Isaac Roberts, Robert Purvis.

On Roll—John Dickenson, L. Corson, D. Stickey, and Edward McGill.

The Corresponding Secretary presented the following:

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The glance which another closing year calls us to cast over the ground we have traversed, at the results of our labor, and toward the state and prospects of our cause, still brings us, as in former years, the cheering assurance of steady progress, and discerns increasing signs of coming triumph. The seed of Anti-Slavery truth, which has been widely sown,—often it is true, on very rugged soil,—is springing up on every side; and if not yet bearing so abundant fruit as could be desired, is nevertheless—some in the green blade, and some in the half-formed ear—giving promise of the full corn in the ear. The general tone of public feeling is becoming more and more modified by the element of abolitionism, which like the little leaven spreading through the whole lump, is fermenting it with a wholesome agitation, and even where its presence is not acknowledged, is making itself manifest by tokens plain enough to the careful observer.

Many who do not avow, and possibly are not aware of a change of sentiment, are continually and perhaps unconsciously showing that they have undergone one, greater or less in degree; or rather it may be, are undergoing one which will not stop at its present stage, but will go on till it becomes too decided to escape the notice of even the least attentive. The bitterness of opposition continues to abate, and first an endurance of our doctrines, then acquiescence in them, then silent favor, then enough of open favor to prompt an occasional word of approval, and at last earnest and active advocacy, are the several stages of progress through which many minds once hostile have gone or are going, and at some one or other of which, more advanced than the first, we believe the great body of the northern, and a large minority at least of the southern people have already arrived.

One proof of this is seen in the action of various legislative bodies in aid, real or pretended, of our main object, or of some of the lesser ones which we have labored for, in pursuit of that. Another appears in the Anti-Slavery professions of political orators and papers, so common in many parts of the free States, those of each side representing their party as more friendly to our cause than the other, and urging as a strong reason for going with them, that their success will tend more than that of their opponents to the overthrow of slavery. Witness for example the zeal of the Whig speakers and presses against the annexation of Texas, as well as the strong denunciations of slavery which sometimes mingle in their arguments for the protective policy as a measure conducive to the interests of free labor. And on the other side, witness the anxiety of a large and most respectable portion of the Democratic party to disclaim the Annexation question as one of the issues between the parties; and of another portion of the same party, to show that Annexation would hasten the abolition of slavery;—not to name other signs of their unwillingness to seem committed to slavery, or any course which is supposed to have a pro-slavery bearing.

Another evidence of the growth of Anti-Slavery feeling is found in the movements of ecclesiastical bodies. The number of churches which have taken Anti-Slavery ground more or less decided, is already considerable, and is steadily increasing. Some hold stated sessons of prayer for the slave's deliverance. Some have adopted Anti-Slavery resolutions, and published them to the world. Some have sent remonstrances against slaveholding, and appeals in behalf of the oppressed, to the churches of the South which are in fellowship with them, while others have openly refused fellowship with slaveholders, and shut them at once from their pulpits and communion tables.

Not the least significant in this class of the "signs of the times," is the late action of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This powerful body, which has for years been justly deemed one of the most pro-slavery organizations in the country; and which has disgraced itself again and again by its base subserviency to the slaveholding interest and its gross injustice toward the colored people and their most faithful and active friends, has at its last General Conference, shown something like a disposition, if not to retrace its steps, and regain the position it held in the days of Wesley and his slavery-hating fellow-laborers in the Gospel, at least to try, by seeming so disposed, to recover the reputation it once enjoyed, when a profession of Methodism was regarded as a sort of pledge of hostility to Slavery. We allude to the vote of the General Conference rescinding the infamous rule, enacted at a former session, whereby the testimony of colored members of the church was rejected by the ecclesiastical tribunal, in those States which refuse to hear it before the civil courts; and to the vote requesting a Bishop who had become a slaveholder, to refrain from acting in his episcopal office while he continues to hold slaves. These steps, though *very* far from coming up to the mark of duty, are *toward* it, in seeming certainly, if not in reality. They are practical confessions of the power of Anti-Slavery truth, and the progress which it has made toward the full accomplishment of that whereunto its Divine Author has sent it forth.

The effect which Anti-Slavery agitation has produced at the South, is another token of this power and progress. One slaveholder after another has proclaimed liberty to his captives, and enlisted in the ranks of impartial Freedom. Many more are uneasy in their present position, troubled in conscience, anxious for the character and fate of their families growing up amid the pernicious influences of the slave system, and ready to unite heartily in any general movement for its abolition, though they lack firmness and moral courage to step out in advance of the mass, for a measure as yet unpopular, though less so, probably, than most men imagine. Who can confidently say that a rallying cry for emancipation will not soon ring upward from the South, the spontaneous shout of her best and noblest sons, which shall drown in its louder swell the trumpet tones of Northern Abolitionism, and all the din of that excitement which its earnest voice of warning has awakened? or rather, which, blending in full majestic harmony with that, shall roll the overwhelming volume of their mingled sound against the battlements of the accursed system, as rolled the warshout of Israel's multitudinous host, blending with the blast of the Levites' ramshorns, against the walls of Jericho, to dash them into shapeless ruin? Whether we may hope for an event so glorious soon to happen, or are to wait through a longer trial of our faith and patience, certain it is, both from the considerations already glanced at, and more which might be brought to view were it needful, that the grounds of encouragement to perseverance in effort, and anticipation of final, if not speedy success, are many and strong. Though the soil is rugged and the labor hard which prepares it to receive the seeds of truth, yet our trust is unwavering, that we shall reap in due time, if we faint not.

Our last report had occasion to speak of outrages committed upon the colored people and their friends; of a year begun and ended with the triumphs of the pro-slavery mob, over the rights of peaceful assemblage and free speech. The year just closed has passed away without a repetition of those scenes enacted in special behalf of Slavery, but the authors, abettors, and palliators of the horrible crimes of 1842, and in the pro-slavery riot of 1843,—the city which looked on with indifference or complacency, and the official authorities who winked at or actually aided in the work of the mob,—have begun to see those effects of their folly and wickedness, which we from the first foretold, and to learn by bitter experience how vain is the hope to escape the penalty of that divine law which dooms the transgressor to eat of the fruit of his own doings, and filled with his own devices.

So evidently is the fearful whirlwind of violence and slaughter which has just swept over Philadelphia, the harvest of the wind so plentifully sown in the anti-abolition riots from '34 to '43, and especially in '38 and '42, that the truth seems now to be generally admitted; and the thought of Pennsylvania Hall is in many minds, and its mention on many lips, where a few years ago were only secret approvals or careless acquiescence, words of palliation, or the silence of cold indifference. Happy will it be for the country, if all parties profit by the lesson now learned at so dear a rate, and if henceforward the first appearance of riotous disposition, on no matter what pretext, the first movement toward an invasion of the rights of conscience and free speech, no matter how small, or weak, or contemptible, no matter how odious or unpopular the party menaced, shall be sternly frowned upon by all who pretend to respectability, patriotism, or regard for right.

The instruments employed during the last year, in our portion of the Anti-Slavery field, either directly by the Committee, or by other agencies co-operating with them, have of course been substantially the same as in former years. The press, the living speaker, the Anti-Slavery office, with its facilities for mutual intercourse, have aided, each in its appropriate sphere of influence, the progress of the cause.

Though the accompanying report of the Treasurer exhibits a considerably less amount of receipts and expenditures than that of any one of several years preceding, yet the real difference, if any, between the work done in our district during the respective periods, is much smaller than this fact would seem to show. For a part of the means formerly controlled directly by the Committee, have this year been applied to the common object without passing through their hands. Not to mention the sum of about six hundred dollars, contributed last winter to the American Society, at its decennial meeting in Philadelphia, and saying nothing of what individuals have done in other ways to promote the enterprise in their particular modes of action; the change in the manner of publishing the Pennsylvania Freeman has made a very considerable difference in the appearance of the Society's financial affairs, without, it is believed, at all lessening the usefulness of the paper, or the sum-total of effectiveness in the Anti-Slavery labor of our district. Heretofore, as is well known, the Freeman has been published at the Society's charge, but during most of the year just past, its publication has been, in the main, the individual enterprise of our Publishing Agent, so that neither its cost, nor the receipts from subscriptions have formed, as heretofore, an item in the Treasurer's account.

This will account in part for the seeming diminution of energy in the Society's operations. If our constituents ask any further explanation, we have only to reply that all the means they have put into our hands we have faithfully used according to our best judgment.

First among the instruments of our labor has been named the press. As already stated, our relation to this is somewhat changed. The propriety of making some alteration in the character and mode of publication of the Freeman was referred to our consideration by the Society at its last meeting, with instruction to act as we should see fit. The result of our deliberation was a decision to stop the irregular and gratuitous issue of the paper, and to transfer it to J. M. M'Kim and C. C. Burleigh, to be edited and published by them on their personal responsibility. It is now, therefore, a source of no expense to the Society, save what may be involved in the guarantee of $250 as a security against loss to the publisher, and as compensation for the use of its columns as a medium of all communications we may wish to make to the public.

Under this arrangement the paper comes out twice a month, twelve hundred and fifty copies of each number being regularly distributed. There is reason to believe it has been in a high degree useful, in keeping alive an interest in the Anti-Slavery cause, in serving as a medium for the Abolitionists of our district to exchange views on subjects connected with the enterprise, and of receiving or imparting information in relation to it, spreading notices of meetings, &c. It is open to the discussion of all topics appropriate to an Anti-Slavery paper, and admits impartially the advocates of all the differing sets of opinions upon every question brought into its columns.

We also continue to receive and circulate the National Anti-Slavery Standard, among the former subscribers to the weekly Freeman, according to the plan adopted when the latter was discontinued.

We have had in the field for the greater part of the year, two lecturing agents, C. C. Burleigh, and B. S. Jones. Their labors have been mostly distributed over the counties of Adams, York, Lancaster, Chester, Delaware, Montgomery, Bucks, and Philadelphia, and the neighboring parts of the States of New Jersey and Delaware. One incursion was made into Maryland, and a large and interesting meeting was held, attended by the most respectable and influential people of that region, who listened with apparently deep interest and general approval to a plain exposition of our doctrines and measures, and of their duty in relation to them. Besides the services of these more constantly employed lecturers, much has been done by several others, who have now and then gone out on short excursions. Thomas Earle, Edwin Fussell, George A. Earle, S. D. Hastings, James Fulton, Jr. and perhaps some others, have in this way lent their aid, sometimes in the service of the Society, and sometimes acting individually or for other associations.

The Anti-Slavery Office, and Reading Room, still continue to be an important help in carrying on the great work. Thither resort, not only the friends of the cause, from city and country, to hear concerning the condition and prospects, and tell whatever they may know affecting its interests, and so to revive their zeal and enlarge their information; but those also who, not enlisted with us, are yet willing to inquire and learn, or who, attracted by mere curiosity even, come in to while away an hour among the miscellaneous papers, and are thus brought within the reach of favorable influences not likely elsewhere to encounter them. The beneficial effect of the intercourse thus promoted, cannot be made a matter of accurate calculation; but that it is great, no one will doubt who knows how human character and opinions are affected by circumstances apparently slight.

An agency for the Free Produce Association is still connected with the Office. Not the least cheering evidence of the spread of just principles, is the growing attention paid to this branch of the great enterprise. The sales of free goods during the past year have been double the amount of those in any former year, and there is every reason to expect a continuance of this increase.

Another important branch of Anti-Slavery labor also deserves a passing notice, though it does not come particularly within our province as a Society. We refer to the action of the Vigilance Committee, by whose assistance many a poor fugitive from the house of bondage has been enabled to reach a home of peace, freedom, and safety. It is a proof of the growth of Anti-Slavery feeling, beyond the bounds of Anti-Slavery organization, and among those who do not so much as call themselves Abolitionists, that the enterprise of the Vigilance Committee finds favor often, where no other Anti-Slavery measure can, and receives contributions to be employed in helping the runaway slave to a place of refuge, and providing for his wants while on the way, from those who will do nothing towards the deliverance of the less fortunate victims of tyranny still toiling in hopeless bondage, cheered by no prospect of a resting-place beyond the spoiler's reach. We rejoice that they who will do no more will do thus much for freedom, and we heartily wish prosperity to the Vigilance Committee, so long as there is need for its benevolent work, or in other words, till our success shall deprive it of employment, for in our opinion, the aiding of a slave's escape, though not the most important, is a perfectly legitimate part of Anti-Slavery effort, and violates no principle of right, and of course no binding law. If the slave States have any enactments which forbid this act of humanity and Christian duty, and threaten it with penalties, they are lawless enactments, involving in guilt those who make, not those who disobey them. To punish a man for obeying his God, what is it but committing treason against the Divine Government?

We know, indeed, that the slaveholders do treat as a crime the humane and Christian deed alluded to. We know that three noble-hearted young men still lie in the prison of Missouri, for no other offence than this, and unless their cruel oppressors relent, and under the name of mercy, do an act of tardy and partial justice in discharging them from confinement, that they must spend there the best years of their lives, martyrs to their fidelity to the rights of man, and the law of God.

We know, too, that nearer home is a case similar in principle, if not equal in atrocity to this. Charles T. Torrey is in the clutches of the slave-power charged with the same crime of preferring the claims of God and humanity to the requirements of the slave code. His case is not yet decided, and probably will not be, without a thorough sifting of the highly important legal questions involved in it; questions which go to the foundation of the supposed legal authority of one man to make merchandise of another, and which, if rightly decided, will leave that pretended authority "like the baseless fabric of a vision," to flit away in the morning light of the newly risen Truth.

The American Anti-Slavery Society having taken ground at its last Annual Meeting, by a vote of 59 to 21, against voting under the United States Constitution, or owning allegiance to it, our relation to that Society as its auxilliary, and the importance of the question itself, as well as the interest already manifested in it, by some of our own members, render it nearly certain that it will claim a large share of attention at the present meeting. As it is one on which different opinions are held by persons of admitted intelligence, and unquestioned moral worth, devoted friends of the cause of Emancipation, who wish to know and do their duty in its behalf, what more natural than that they should wish to compare views, and seek to lead each other into the right?

If then—as is likely—the question is to come before us, let us meet it with a calm, candid, truth-loving spirit, worthy the holy cause in which we are engaged. Let the discussion be conducted as becomes those who in kindness are trying to benefit each other by imparting light, or with willing and grateful attention are seeking their own good by obtaining light. Let us seek to know the right, rather than carry the point; to gain the truth even if we lose the argument. So shall all be profited, whoever prevails.

One more topic we wish to touch before closing our report. The coming fall will be a time of severe trial to the principles of many who profess the Anti-Slavery faith. We need not remind you that a hotly contested Presidential election is close at hand, nor that the feverish zeal of party will prompt the use of every art which unscrupulous politicians can devise, to seduce you into the ranks of one or other of the opposing hosts. Unless your principles are known to be so firmly fixed that no assault can shake them, your fidelity to the slave will be assailed with many and strong temptations. You will be plied with specious sophistries, and pressed with urgent appeals, told of the importance of the crisis, exhorted not to throw away your vote, entreated to go *just this once* for the country's salvation, forewarned of impending ruin if this or that party is defeated, and promised prosperity unexampled if this or that candidate prevails. You will be assured as positively and oracularly as if the same assurance had not been made just before every election, and as regularly falsified by the event, after it,—that success now will settle all these *great* questions of revenue and protective policy, and national bank, and distribution of public lands, and what not, for these many years to come, and then we shall have leisure to abolish Slavery, and promote good morals and the like, after more pressing matterz are disposed of. The power of sympathy, the enthusiasm kindled by music and banners, and processions, and mass meetings will be resorted to, in the hope that your feelings may be roused and enlisted, if your understanding is not convinced. The game of 1840 is to be played over again, and—if the party leaders can work it up to that—with the same wild frenzy as at first. Let it not, we exhort you, draw you into its whirling vortex, as the professed Abolitionists were in such numbers drawn in before. Plant your feet on the rock of principle, and stand firm. Yield not "for this once," unless you would show demagogues how to cajole you forever with *just this once*, as often repeated as election day comes round. Teach them rather that if they wish to lean on you, they must come to you, must stand with you for truth and right. You have once and again adopted resolutions, unanimously or by large majorities, that no supporter of Slavery is worthy of a freeman's vote. Now prove your sincerity by refusing to "throw away your vote" on characters so unworthy of it. In one word, be true to the slave, true to your own conscience and to God, at whatever cost to the interests of party.

And now, having taken a rapid survey of the doings of the past year, reviewed its trials, toils and progress, and indulged in such reflections as they have suggested, let us for the coming year address ourselves anew to our noble, though laborious task, the task of working such a revolution in the thoughts and feelings of this great nation, that the unholy system it now cherishes it shall utterly abhor, the injustice it now practices it shall heartily repent of and forsake forever, the rights it now withholds from suffering millions it shall hasten to restore with the fullest requital it can make for having withheld them so long. What work can be more worthy of our best energies, our warmest zeal, our steadiest perseverance? In its performance, truth is our instrument, love our impulse, the Almighty arm our source of strength, the changeless promise of Him who cannot lie, our ground of hope for complete success; and when that promise shall have been gloriously fulfilled, when the poor and the needy shall have been set in safety from him that puffeth at them, then come our munificent reward; the sweet consciousness of having labored, not in vain, for the welfare of mankind, the blessings of him that was ready to perish, the thanks of repentant evildoers, the applauses of the good in all lands, and the smile of approving Heaven. Who will not labor in such a cause and for such wages?

The Treasurer's Report was read and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Treasurer's Report from Eighth mo. 14th, 1843, *to Eighth mo.* 12th, 1844.

Receipts.—Lundy Union Society $54, Clarkson $30, Colerain $10, Kennett $51.50, E. Fallowfield $38.50, Buckingham and Plumstead $6.35, Individual subscriptions $747.75, Publishing Agent $1372.25, Rent of upper rooms in Office $75, Loan $250, Do. $143.75. Total $3,129.23.

Payments.—Standard $1,043.75, Carriers $133.50, Paper and Printing $256.88, Rent of office $267.50, J. M. M'Kim in full $700, C. C. Burleigh on account $293.43 B. S. Jones $110.79 T. Earle $45, J. Fulton $3, Sundries $275.38. Total $3,129.23.

SARAH PUGH, Treasurer.

8th mo. 12, 1844

Frederic Douglas and James N. Buffum addressed the meeting in reference to the removal of prejudice against color, and the progress of the general cause in New England.

The Business Committee reported resolutions Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; J. M. M'Kim offered resolutions Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12. Then adjourned to 2 o'clock this afternoon.

Afternoon Session.—The President of the Society called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the morning session were read and adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 were taken up for discussion as follows:

8. Resolved, That we are constrained to regard the United States Constitution as an unholy league with oppression, virtually pledging the strength of the whole nation to the defence of Slavery so long as the slaveholders shall choose to demand its aid, requiring the sending back of runaway slaves to bondage, and in other ways helping to sustain the unrighteous system.

9. Resolved, That the provisions alluded to being contrary to the law of God, which condemns oppression and all alliance with it, are neither morally or legally binding; nor have we even any right to obey them, or to promise that we will do so, or to make ourselves parties to the compact of which they are an important part.

10. Resolved, That voting under the Constitution, or swearing to support it, is in our opinion, becoming a party to the compact, the former implying, and the latter giving expressly a promise to obey its requirements in these, as in all other particulars.

11. Resolved, That doing these acts with intent hereafter to amend the Constitution by striking out its immoral provisions, renders them none the less a promise to obey it meanwhile, as it now stands.

12. Resolved, That in view of these considerations, it seems to us inconsistent for those who hold the doctrine of the immorality of slaveholding, to take any office which requires an oath to support the Constitution, or to vote under it, so long as its pro-slavery features remains.

Professor C. D. Cleveland moved an amendment to the resolution.

The original resolutions were advocated by C. C. Burleigh, Henry Grew, and William Lloyd Garrison; and opposed by William Jackson and Thomas Earle.

Then adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

EIGHTH MONTH (August) 13, 1844.

Morning Session.—The President called the meeting to order.

Resolutions Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, were taken up for consideration, and supported by Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Professor Cleveland withdrew the amendment he offered yesterday afternoon, and proposed the following substitute:

13. Resolved, That inasmuch as in the Constitution of the United States the words slave, slaveholder, and slavery cannot be found; inasmuch as its preamble sets forth its object to be to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty; inasmuch as in section 4th, article 4th, it declares that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of Government;" inasmuch as in the several articles of the Amendments it is declared, "that Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or of the press," and that "no person shall be deprived of life, *liberty*, or property, without due process of law;" therefore that the said Constitution is entirely Anti-Slavery in its general character.

14. Resolved, That if there be any clause or clauses in the Constitution that can be construed as favoring Slavery, it would be a still stronger reason why we should carry out our Anti-Slavery principles at the ballot-box, that such clause or clauses may be changed; and that if that instrument were ten-fold more pro-slavery in its character than some maintain it to be, there would then be ten-fold more reasons why we should vote under it. For since, in article 5th, the Constitution provides for its own amendment, it can only be amended by persons chosen constitutionally to amend it: such persons cannot be chosen but by votes; and hence it is the duty of every Anti-Slavery man to do what he can by his *vote*, to put the right men into power, in order that right amendments may be made.

The subject was then laid on the table until two o'clock.

Addresses were then delivered by F. Douglas, and H. Grew.

Adjourned to two o'clock this afternoon.

Afternoon Session.—The President of the Society called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the morning session were read and adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, (with the proposed amendments,) were then taken up.

The discussion was renewed and continued by L. C. Matlack, W. L. Garrison, Wm. Jackson, Samuel Aaron.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

EIGHTH MONTH (AUGUST) 14, 1844.

Morning Session.—Wm. Jackson, one of the Vice Presidents, called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the preceding session were read and adopted.

The discussion on resolutions Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, (with the proposed amendments) was renewed and continued by Isaac T. Hopper, Thomas Whitson, Lucius C. Matlack, Charles L. Remond, Thomas Earle, and James N. Buffum.

Adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.—Wm. Jackson, one of the Vice Presidents, called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the morning session were read and adopted.

The discussion on the resolutions Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, (with the proposed amendments,) was then continued by James N. Buffum, Jesse Evans, Thomas S. Cavender, and Sydney Howard Gay.

The vote being then taken, the amendments were rejected, and the original resolutions laid on the table.

The Chairman of the Committee on Finance stated that the Committee did not think it necessary to present any report.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

EIGHTH MONTH (AUGUST) 15th, 1844.

Thomas Earle, one of the Vice Presidents, called the meeting to order.

On motion of Trueman Shew,

19. Resolved unanimously, That this Society regards the annual Fair of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society as a valuable agency in the promotion of our cause, and that we earnestly recommend to the Abolitionists of Eastern Pennsylvania to make liberal efforts in the work of its preparation the present year, contributing freely of their money and labor, that it may yield jo the treasury of the Anti-Slavery cause an unusually abundant harvest.

On motion of Henry Grew, the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Abolitionists acknowledge that the products of the slave's toil are fraudulently wrested from him, and also, that the profits paid by the consumer of those products, constitute the entire pecuniary motive to continue the slave-trade and Slavery,

20. Therefore Resolved that we rejoice that so many Abolitionists are abstaining from the use of those blood-stained products, and earnestly entreat all to follow their consistent and noble example.

The subject of Finance being introduced, Frederic Douglas, Lucius A. Matlack, Henry Grew, and James N. Buffum, addressed the audience in reference to the duty of contributing more liberally to the cause.

Pledges and donations were then presented to the amount of $555.

The nominating committee presented the following report:

President—William Jackson.

Vice Presidents—Robert Purvis, Professor Charles D. Cleveland, Samuel Aaron, B. C. Bacon.

Treasurer—Sarah Pugh.

Corresponding Secretary—Mary Grew.

Recording Secretaries—Haworth Wetherald, Thomas S. Cavender.

Additional Members of the Executive Committee.—Thomas Earle, Edward M. Davis, Lucretia Mott, Samuel D. Hastings, Mary Earle, Warner Justice.

The report was discussed by J. M. McKim, Thomas S. Cavender, Gertrude K. Burleigh, Lucius C. Matlack, and Charles C. Burleigh.

Then adjourned to 2 o'clock this afternoon.

Afternoon Session.—Thomas Earle, one of the Vice Presidents, called the meeting to order.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was further discussed by Isaac T. Hopper, Thomas S. Cavender, and Thomas Earle.

It was then, on motion of Thomas Whitson,

Resolved, That a committee of five members, three of whom should be opposed to, and two in favor of the Liberty party, should be appointed to nominate another list of officers for the ensuing year.

Thomas Whitson, Sarah Pugh, N. R. W. Clarke, Joseph Gibbons, and Edwin H. Coates, were appointed the Committee.

On motion of Wm. Harned, it was unanimously

21. Resolved, That every effort to elevate the moral condition of the colored population of the North, has a direct and happy effect upon the progress of immediate Emancipation; and that this Convention regard with especial interest the operations of the Philadelphia Moral Reform Society, which have so clearly evinced the entire efficiency of kind and Christian means to raise even the most degraded from the depths of wretchedness into which vice and intemperance has sunk a portion of our fellow-men.

The following resolutions were offered by Charles C. Burleigh, and after addresses from Mr. Adams, of Illinois, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the arrest and imprisonment of Charles T. Torrey, in Baltimore, and that of Jonathan Walker, in Pensacola, on the charge of helping the escape of slaves from bondage, are, in our opinion, lawless outrages upon their rights, and acts of rebellion against the authority of Him who commands us to hide the outcast, feed the hungry, and relieve the distressed.

Resolved, That we consider the acts charged upon those men,—if actually committed,—as just and benevolent, and we extend to them the expression of our heartfelt sympathy, as sufferers for righteousness' sake.

Resolved, That we also extend the expression of our deepest sympathy to those three young men,—Thompson, Work, and Burr,—who now lie in prison, in Missouri, for their participation in such a righteous and benevolent act; and that we exhort all friends of humanity throughout our district, and everywhere, to unite in petitioning the Governor of Missouri for their deliverance.

Resolved, That the gross violation of human rights and divine law, perpetrated in the cases referred to, is but a natural fruit of the unholy, law-contemning, and Heaven-defying system of American Slavery; and, atrocious as it is, is but slight in comparison to those inflicted continually on the millions of its enslaved victims, and therefore the contemplation of it should but stimulate us to greater zeal and energy in our efforts for the utter overthrow of the system.

It was moved that the four preceding resolutions be referred to the Executive Committee.

Resolution No. 7 was then called and adopted, as follows:

7. Resolved, That we still hold and deem it right to reaffirm the doctrine heretofore avowed, that it is inconsistent with Christianity and republicanism to hold slaves, apologize for Slavery, or refuse to testify against it; and incompatible with true Abolitionism to recognize as Christian, or support or countenance slaveholding or pro-slavery churches and ministers, vote for slaveholding or pro-slavery candidates for office, and adhere to pro-slavery political parties.

The following resolution was also unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we believe that the Anti-Slavery cause has suffered of late from want of sufficient activity in the circulation of abolition petitions addressed to Congress and the State Legislature, and we therefore earnestly recommend to our members that they obtain blank petitions from the Anti-Slavery office, circulate them, and forward them to their proper destination, at the commencement of the approaching legislative sessions.

The Committee on Nominations presented the following report:

President—William Jackson.

Vice Presidents—Robert Purvis, Samuel Aaron, Thomas Earle, Benj. C. Bacon.

Treasurer—Sarah Pugh.

Corresponding Secretary—Mary Grew.

Recording Secretaries—Haworth Wetherald, Dr. P. L. B. Stickney.

Additional Members of the Executive Committee.—Edward M. Davis, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth J. Neall, Daniel Neall, Jr. J. Miller McKim, John Child.

It was moved that the name of Samuel D. Hastings be inserted in place of the name of

by Professor Cleveland, were offered in his absence, by John Thomas:

Inasmuch as there are differences of opinion that appear to be irreconcilable, between the friends of the great Anti-Slavery cause in Eastern Pennsylvania, as to the best and most effective mode for the overthrow of Slavery; one party deeming it their duty to refrain from voting at all under our present Constitution, and the other, the Liberty Party, believing that as Slavery is the creature of political action, by political action can it most speedily be abolished, and hence that it is their duty to carry out their principles at the ballot-box, therefore

Resolved, That it is expedient that these two portions of the Anti-Slavery party of Eastern Pennsylvania separate, the one from the other, in peace and harmony, and mutual good will. Each party then will be able to follow out that mode of action which it deems to be the best: and each, unembarrassed and unimpeded by the other, will be able to do more effectually the work which it believes is given it to do.

The motion to adopt them was not agreed to.

On motion

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to call a meeting of the Society next winter in Philadelphia, at such time as they shall think expedient.

The thanks of the Society were then voted unanimously to the proprietors of the church for the use of their building, and to the inhabitants of Norristown for their hospitality to us; after which the meeting adjourned without day.

TH. S. CAVENDER, Secretary of the Meeting.

The resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, reported by the Business Committee, have not been handed us for publication, probably because no action was taken upon them by the Society. As their presentation is mentioned, it seemed proper to say thus much in explanation of the fact that they do not appear in the proceedings.—*Eds.*

Communications.

LETTER FROM E. D. HUDSON.

SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 12, 1844.

MY DEAR FRIEND GAY:—While I have been engaged for some time past in locating my family in this vicinity, and providing for their comfort, during my Anti-Slavery sojournings, I have, as opportunity has been offered, made an effort to arouse the people to a sense of the wrongs inflicted on millions of our brethren in slavery in this country, and their own wickedness in not *letting* them go free, and binding up their broken hearts. But the hearts of the people are waxed gross, their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; meantime they eat and drink in the Lord's presence, and talk loudly about liberty and religion, pray, tithe, fast and feast, and call themselves Christians and Democrats! They have no regard for God's poor enslaved! consider it a sin, *awful* wickedness! and are filled with indignation if you make mention of them in their congregations of saints on the Sabbath day, or at this particular period, when it is important for them to secure the election of a *Slave*holding President.

"When will this land revoke
The old and chartered Lie,
The feudal curse, whose whips and yokes
Insult humanity?"

A few Sundays since, I was moved in spirit to visit a neigboring Society and manufacturing village, called Chicapee, for the slave's sake. I called on the Congregational minister, Mr. Parsons—asked leave to speak in his house in the course of the day, for humanity! "I'm opposed to slavery as much as anybody, so is my Church—but the question is purely a political one, and I am opposed to its being discussed in our house on the Sabbath day;" and furthermore, he thought the measures of Abolitionists bad—calculated to exasperate the Southrons, as he well knew, having lived there;—he thought many of the slaveholders good pious men, and that the North had been imposed upon by many lecturers, and he could not favor the subject on the Sabbath. I went, after giving him a few Anti-Slavery ideas, to the Baptist and Methodist ministers, who very politely gave an appointment for me in the Baptist meeting-house; audience quite respectable, though small for such a village. I discoursed lengthily on the immorality of all slaveholding; of the guilt of accomplices in crime; and that all slaveholders, their confederates, and apologists; all pro-slavery churches, parties, and compacts, when tried by the line and plummet, *by the royal law*, must prove false, and unrighteous, and "no union" was the great command, and the only rational deduction of *all* who fear God, and are resolved to do right.

This was a hard conclusion, and true to the minds of all, to a certain extent, i. e. the ministers said they could give up the great political parties and their leaders; it was duty to come out from them—but did not feel it to be their duty to quit their churches and conferences, and to come out from the Government; though they were corrupt—they must sustain the wrong for the sake of the good that was in them; thus, doubtless, all would say, come out from all sects and parties in which they are not particularly interested. They will lose their influence if they do right, and do it now. It is right to do some wrong in order to be able to accomplish an anticipated good.

Agawam.—I was invited by a member of the church in this society to lecture, who got an appointment given out for me on Sunday, in the Baptist Church, he saying that "he hadsome thought of being an abolitionist," but I reckon the man had not counted the cost of his invitation, or of becoming an abolitionist; of taking up the cross, and laying on the altar of right, every party, sect and compact which sustains Slavery.

I had a good audience, and addressed it nearly two hours; subject—Christianity at war with Slavery—Christianity never created a slave—never held a slave—never united with a pro-slavery Church—or sustained a slaveholding compact—all of which were Antichristian. I was invited to give another lecture the Sabbath following, which I did, though ministers, deacons, &c. conspired to break up the appointment,—circulated reports that I was a heretic. (Pope of Rome like.) The Priest notified the people of my appointment—and then said he did not approve of holding meetings on the subjects of Anti-Slavery and temperance on Sabbath days; there were other days in the week, for such and like subjects—also, that I was suspected of being heretical, and that it would accord with his feelings if they tarried at home. A goodly number attended, though most of the church absented themselves. Subject—the pro-slavery character of the churches and ecclesiastical bodies of the United States; also of her Government and the Constitution; and that duty to truth, to God, and the slave, required an entire Disunion with them all. Also, the objections that the Sabbath was too *holy* to do good on—made by the rulers of the synagogues—was only a reiteration of the indignant feelings of the ruler of the synagogue eighteen hundred years ago, he being a perfect prototype of the rulers in this our day. That humanity is to be exercised and preached on the Sabbath day; and Christ called him a hypocrite who made the day so holy, that it was a sin to do good on it. The Anti-Slavery leaven is working there; though much, very much of the leaven of the Pharisees is to be worked off. God speed the work. Many have so far got their eyes open as to see the light—whether they will walk in it, I cannot tell. I can only speak the truth, and that must make them free, if ever they become so.

A Fugitive from new organized Third Party Abolitionists in Warren—(a place which you remember for its pro-slavery spirit made manifest.)—A victim of the "peculiar institution" of this blessed land of religious and civil liberty, made his escape last Spring, and after two or three months wandering, supposed he had found a resting and safe dwelling place among the professed friends of the slave in Warren. Last week, at the close of a day, as I was laboring near the road, he made the hailing sign of distress, of a fugitive, an outcast, from pro-slavery new organized. He said he was from Warren, where he had dwelt some time; that they had a famous school there; that a slaveholder from Louisiana had two sons in the school, who paid $500 a year for their instruction, &c.; that this slaveholder lived within a short distance of his master, and knew him,—the slave,—that the slaveholder was a very pious man, a member of the Presbyterian church, and that he was expected in Warren on that day to visit his sons. The Rev. Mr. Trask and the members of his church had passed resolutions not to fellowship slaveholders, yet they thought it advisible for him to leave town and flee to Canada, for fear that the pious old trader in the bodies and souls of men would lay violent hands upon him, and the peace and harmony of the town would be disturbed and their pro-slavery school injured, for the school is dedicated to the spirit of the peculiar institution; all colored persons excluded, and the sons of men-stealers admitted.

Mr. Trask and his new organized coadjutors disliking the "*disunion*" and "come-outer" principle of the staunch friends of the slave, particularly of his West Brookfield neighbors, marked out the road for this "outcast" to Canada, via Detroit, and gave him the names of the Rev. Dr. Osgood, and Rev. Mr. Porter, of this town, as good and true friends of the slave; the latter is a pro-slavery priest, of the Gordon Hayes, Hubbard Winslow, Cooke and Parsons school, transferred from New Milford, Connecticut, to this place. With reference to the moral state of his heart, which humanity never appeared to have swelled, and sprouted, to take charge of a pro-slavery church in this town, which colonized from Dr. Osgood's in consequence of his haltings and occasional spasmodic efforts for the slave.

This heart-stricken brother very providentially found his way to my humble roof; and when during the evening he was giving me a history of the wrongs and cruelties inflicted on him, his manner of escape and false friends, his countenance brightened up, and he shouted for joy, at my making mention of *friends* who had counted the cost of Anti-Slavery had taken up their cross and were ready to sacrifice friends, worldly honors, emolument, pro-slavery churches, parties, constitutions and schools, yea, their healths and lives, if needs be, for the slave, God's poor children; and *our brethren* with whom they were ready to stand side by side. On the morrow his face was no longer directed Canadaward, but to good and true friends, where he is safe from the spoiler. *His motto is, "No union with slaveholders,"* and so mote it be! Let every *true friend say*, henceforth "*No union with slaveholders,*" in Church or State, in schools or matrimony.

Great Whig Mass Meeting, or Slavocratic reveling!—On the 10th ultimo, the idolatrous worshippers of the "peculiar institution," of the slaveholder, Henry Clay, of the slaveholding Constitution, and Union, written and cemented with human gore, congregated in mass in this town. Slaveholders from Louisiana, Georgia, and other slave States, with banners. The Northern slaveholders—Daniel Webster, who sold himself to the Virginia slave breeders, under an "October sun," Choate, the Massachusetts Senator, who cowardly, dastardly, sat on the floor of the United States Senate, and saw the resolutions of his sovereign State trodden under foot by the indignant and chivalrous slave breeders and consumers of human flesh and blood, without even uttering a remonstrance. These led on the bloody procession, followed by the reverend clergy, to sanctify and hallow the infamy of the nation, and, Frelinghuysen-like, lend the sanction of their religion to sanctify the blood-red atrocities of Henry Clay and his Whig constituents.

The exercises on this solemn occasion were opened with a prayer, delivered with an awfully solemn voice and manner, by the very *pious* Rev. Mr. Parsons, of Chicapee, who was so good, and considered the Sabbath so holy, that it was wrong for him to favor a meeting to plead the cause of the dumb, on that day;—he thought that slaveholders were very good and pious Christians. The Rev. Dr. Osgood, of this town, with his brother, Rev. Mr. Porter, like Aaron and Hur, sat on the platform to stay up the hands of this priest, while sacrificing on the platform of Slavery. These ministers in the procession, hand and glove with slave-owners and holders, were the ones to whom the outcast and wanderer from new organization in Warren was commended. The speakers on the platform boasted that the ministers, and deacons, and churches, from the mountains, hills, and valleys, had come up to unite with them in the interests of Henry Clay. These Priests and Levites, overlooking the two millions and seven hundred thousand, who have fallen among thieves and robbers, and been stripped and wounded, have passed by on the other side, and are in full fellowship with the thieves and robbers, and entering into a league with them as their accomplices. To behold, too, the laboring men, and hosts of women, united in the procession, giving their countenance and support to one who estimates the laborers of a portion of this Confederacy, not as men, but as property, valued at twelve hundred millions of dollars, and who claims woman, and uses her as property, and who sanctions the prostitution of one million of females in our land,—to see these uniting with unprincipled demagogues, Priests, Levites, traders, and consumers of the bodies and souls of men, was sickening, and enough to cause humanity to turn aside and weep in secret places. The speakers claimed to be Anti-Slavery—opposed to Texas; and Choate claimed all the petitions piled up on the floor of Congress against Slavery as Whig petitions; but then they all wished to be understood, by their haughty slaveholding overseers present, watching with a jealous eye their every movement, that they went for the Constitution *as it is*, and for *Slavery as it is*—but would say, as Anti-Slavery men, thus far and no farther!! What glorious democracy this! The people, *all* cried amen, and swung their hats, and the ladies their 'kerchiefs, and agreed to lend their support for the slaveholding God of this nation, Henry Clay for President. Well, none but a slaveholder, a tyrant, is fit to represent and preside over such a people, ministers, churches, and all.

I am now going to try to agitate this pro-slavery region by the anti-slavery fire of God's truth, and the God of judgment, justice, truth and equity, the God of the poor, the slave, be with me and all the true friends of the slave. Thine, for the right,

E. D. HUDSON.

ABOLITION SUPPORT OF HENRY CLAY.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

To D. L. Child.—Respected Friend,—A few readers of the Standard in this region, who also profess friendship for our principles, have intimated a prospect of voting for Clay, and the principal reason given, is, that the Standard *has been* a very judicious paper, and that its late editor evidently means to vote for Clay, and that if *he can*, with his superior opportunities of viewing the whole question, *they can* vote for him. I think, myself, the Standard has given evidence sufficient to lead to such a conclusion, and as the truth upon the point is important, I respectfully request thee to inform thy numerous friends of the facts in the case, through either the Standard or Freeman. Truly thy friend,

J. FULTON, JR.

ANSWER OF D L. CHILD. TO JAMES FULTON, JR.

(*Concluded.*)

Strict limitations and a jealous watchfulness of Executive power is a democratic principle; and the apprehension that the Federal Constitution had provided for an Executive, which would be too strong, and in process of time become dangerous to liberty, was one of the great grounds of opposition by the anti-Federal, or original Democratic party to the formation and ratification of this Constitution. But for the last sixteen years, to go no further back, the Democrats, falsely so called, have sustained and encouraged Executive acts, experiments, and adventures, far transcending the Constitution, and scorning its obvious and cautious restrictions.

Strict economy and accountability in the use of the people's money is a democratic principle, but Jackson and Van Buren's administrations run up the Government expenditure from *thirteen* to *thirty-three millions* per annum; and the accounts and superintendence of the national finances were so loose and negligent that a single officer carried on embezzlements during seven or eight years to the amount of more than a million of dollars without detection, and remains without punishment.

Non-interference of federal officers in elections is a democractic principle. I remember when the Democrats of Boston considered that it would use them up to have a custom-house officer take any part in their popular meetings and elections, except to listen and deposite his vote. Now it is common in all the principal cities for Executive dependents to be the officers and orators, and sometimes to constitute the main and even entire body of a political gathering.

The protection and encouragement of home manufactures is an old democratic principle. Being a Jeffersonian Democrat, one of the first things I did on entering into active life, was to join an association, formed by my elder political brethren, for the encouragement of American industry. We took a pledge to wear no clothes except of American manufacture. This was in 1818. We continued the association, and kept the pledge, until, by the act of 1824, "the American system" was supposed to be firmly and definitively established.

The observance of justice and neutrality, and the maintenance of "peace, friendship and honest commerce with all nations" is an old democratic doctrine, which used to be blazoned on our banners; and when, in 1806, an expedition "was prepared" and "set on foot" in the United States to attack Texas, Mr. Jefferson ordered military detachments to take positions on the Ohio and Mississippi, and sink, destroy, and capture the boats and men descending those rivers for that purpose. Under the late and present democratic dynasties, such expeditions have proceeded openly, and not only without molestation, but with the aid of officers of Government, whose sworn duty it is to prosecute such offenders to condign punishment. At this moment a self-constitued committee sits in the Capitol, and sends forth under the franking privilege, and through the organs of the Democratic party, invitations and arguments to the idle, and lawless, and rapacious all over the country to combine, arm, organize, (either as soldiers or *emigrants*, it makes no difference which, not at all!) and march, rob, and murder a friendly and unoffending people, with whom we have solemn, and on their part, unbroken treaties of limits, of peace, friendship, and commerce. The worst thing about it is that this great and dangerous misdemeanor, for which our laws have provided the punishment of fine, and imprisonment for years, *i. e.* for the mere "preparing," or "setting on foot" such an expedition, has grown so common and customary, that the country has come to regard it with a callous indifference. If as the sequel of these harmless proceedings, privateers unloosed from every port, and manned by villains of all nations, and especially Texans and *Americans*, shall sweep our commerce from the ocean, we shall remember with bitter and unavailing regret, the apathy with which we are looking upon the daring and criminal manifestoes issued by R. J. Walker, W. W. Payne, and the editors of the Washington Globe.

It is a democratic principle that offices be given to the most worthy; but they have come to be generally bestowed upon inferior and bad men, and it has been officially assigned as a reason for not removing them, when detected in public robbery, that their successors would probably be equally bad, and more hungry.

It is a democratic principle that Executive offices except the highest judicial and departmental, ought not to be conferred upon the representatives of the people; and yet, in eight years only, Jackson appointed more members of Congress to offices, many of them inferior and gainful, merely, than all his predecessors together.

Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of petition, and the diffusion of information among the people, are cardinal points of democracy. But the Democrats have gagged the representatives of the people, have attempted to impose a censorship upon the press for the comfort and security of Slavery, and have voted in innumerable cases against printing for dissemination among the people, memorials, resolutions, and remonstrances of sovereign States, and reports, and diplomatic correspondence, which would have informed the people of corrupt and high-handed acts done and designed to be done in their abused name. The right of petition has been openly trampled down and ground under the heel for ten years, and the national organ of the party, (the Democratic Review,) has propounded and maintained, without dissent on the part of a single Democratic press, that—

"The absence of such power [Constitutional power to grant the prayer of a petition] is not necessary to confer the right of refusal to receive. *A settled prejudgment or predetermination on the part of the body under its high responsibility to conscience and to public opinion, is sufficient.*"

This is the power of the Cæsars, and of the Norman conquerers, "*Sic volo, sic jubeo, sic velo. Stat pro ratione voluntas.*" *

Anti-Slavery, or equal, impartial, and universal liberty, is the greatest of Democratic doctrines. The Anti-Federalists, or original Democrats, opposed the adoption of the Constitution on this very ground, among others, that contrary to the whole gist of the American revolution, it permitted the enslaving of human beings, and conferred upon their enslavers political power just in proportion as they violated this first principle of a free republic. But modern Democracy has become the chief prop of Slavery.

And why is all this? It is because Democrats have allied themselves with Slavery for the sake of the federal offices, dignities, and emoluments, and the price they have stipulated to pay is blind obedience and entire submission to the will of slaveholders. And inasmuch as none but inferior and dishonest men would embrace such corruption and submit to such degradation, hence it has happened that such extensive and continued depredations have been committed upon the Treasury of the Nation; and hence also the repudiation of the fundamental and self-evident doctrine of Democracy, that offices and honors should be bestowed upon the most worthy.

I need not say what party is the complete antipodes of the Locofoco on all these points. I might add to them a great many others, subordinate perhaps in importance, but bringing up contrasts equally striking; and I now put it to you, to every Abolitionist, and to every discerning man in the land, whether the main political reliance of the friends of justice, humanity, and universal emancipation must not necessarily, in this country, be placed upon the Whig Party. And this Whig Party goes security for Henry Clay's fidelity to their known principles and habits of action, and their long established system of policy.

But Clay needs no security. He is a man, who would be more likely, from a false sense of honor, to keep a bad promise, than he would, for want of common honesty, to violate a good one.

Indeed the question has not been raised by any party or person, whether Henry Clay would keep a promise; but some have denied that he has made one. If he has not done it, and done it clearly and beyond cavil, then I oppose him to the death; then will I traverse the land day and night, calling upon the people to awake from their fatal security. But first let us see whether Henry Clay is really trying his hand at a swindle. A mistake in this matter would not only be very unjust to him, but extremely disreputable and injurious to ourselves. We must take all his words together. This is a rule which we apply to the meanest wretch arraigned at the bar of justice.

In the first place as to the means by which Mexico has been dismembered, Texas severed from her, and put *de facto* in a condition to treat for Annexation, he says:

"The signal success of that revolution was *greatly aided, if not wholly achieved*, by citizens of the United States, who had migrated to Texas. These succors, if they could not always be prevented by the Government of the United States, were furnished in a manner, and to an extent which brought upon us some national reproach in the eyes of an impartial world. And in my opinion they impose on us the obligation of scrupulously avoiding the imputation of having instigated and aided the revolution with the ultimate view of territorial aggrandizement."

Secondly, as to the *motive*, he says:

"It is useless to disguise that there are those who espouse, and those who oppose the Annexation of Texas, upon the ground of the influence which it would exert in the balance of political power between the two great sections of the Union. I conceive that no motive for the acquisition of foreign territory would be more unfortunate, or pregnant with more fatal consequences to the Confederacy, than that of obtaining it for the purpose of strengthening one part against another part of the common Confederacy. Such a principle, put into practical operation, would menace the existence, if it did not certainly sow the seeds of a dissolution of the Union. It would be to proclaim to the world an insatiate and unquenchable thirst for foreign conquest or acquisition of territory. For if to-day Texas be required to strengthen one part, to-morrow Canada may be required to add strength to another, and after that might have been obtained, still other and further acquisitions would become necessary."

"Suppose Great Britain and France, or one of them, were to take part with Mexico, and by a manifesto, were to proclaim that their objects were to assist a weak and helpless ally to check the spirit of encroachment and ambition of an already overgrown republic, seeking still further acquisitions of territory;—to maintain the independence of Texas, disconnected with the United States, *and to prevent the propagation of Slavery from the United States*,—what would be the effect of such allegations upon the judgment of an impartial and enlightened world?"

"I was aware, too, that *holders of Texas lands, and Texas scrip*, and speculators in them, were actively engaged in promoting the object of Annexation."

Thirdly, as to the consequences, he says:

"Under the circumstances, if the Government of the United States were to acquire Texas, it would acquire along with it all the incumbrances which Texas is under, and among them the actual or suspended war between Mexico and Texas. *Annexation and war with Mexico are identical.* Now, for one, I certainly am not willing to involve this country in a foreign war for the object of acquiring Texas. I know there are those who regard such a war with indifference, and as a trifling affair, on account of the weakness of Mexico, and her inability to inflict serious injury upon this country. But I do not look upon it thus lightly. I regard all wars as great calamities, to be avoided if possible, and honorable peace as the wisest and truest policy of this country. What the United States most need are union, peace, and patience. Nor do I think that the weakness of a power should form a motive, in any case, for inducing us to engage in, or to depreciate the evils of war. Honor, and good faith, and justice, are equally due from this country towards the weak as towards the strong. And if an act of injustice were to be perpetrated towards any power, it would be more compatible with the dignity of the nation, and in my judgment less dishonorable to inflict it upon a powerful, instead of a weak foreign nation. But are we perfectly sure that we should be free from injury in a state of war with Mexico? Have we any security that countless numbers of foreign vessels, under the authority and flag of Mexico, would not prey upon our defenceless commerce in the Mexican Gulf, on the Pacific Ocean, and on every other sea and ocean? What commerce, on the other hand, does Mexico offer, as an indemnity for our losses, to the gallantry and enterprise of our countrymen? This view of the subject supposes that the war would be confined to the United States and Mexico as the only belligerents. But have we any certain guarantee that Mexico would obtain no allies among the great European Powers? Should Texas be annexed to the Union, the United States will assume and become responsible for the debt of Texas, be its amount what it may. What it is, I do not know certainly; but the least I have seen it stated at is thirteen millions of dollars. And this responsibility will exist, whether there be a stipulation in the treaty or not, expressly assuming the payment of the debt of Texas."

Fourthly, as to the *conditions* on which he leaves it to be inferred that he would or might consent to Annexation, he says:

"I have hitherto considered the question upon the supposition that the Annexation is attempted without the assent of Mexico. If she yields her consent, that would materially affect the foreign aspect of the question, if it did not remove all foreign difficulties. On the assumption of that assent, the question would be confined to the domestic considerations which belong to it, embracing the terms and conditions upon which Annexation is proposed. *I do not think that Texas ought to be received into the Union, as an integral part of it, in decided opposition to the wishes of a considerable and respectable portion of the Confederacy.* I think it far more wise and important to compose and harmonize the present Confederacy, as it now exists, than to introduce a new element of discord and distrust into it. In my humble opinion, it should be the constant and earnest endeavor of American statesmen to eradicate prejudices, to cultivate and foster concord, and to produce general contentment among all parts of our confederacy. And true wisdom, it seems to me, points to the duty of rendering its present members happy, prosperous, and satisfied with each other, rather than to attempt to introduce alien members, against the common consent, and with the certainty of deep dissatisfaction. Mr. Jefferson expressed the opinion, and others believed, that it never was in the contemplation of the framers of the Constitution to add foreign territory to the Confederacy, out of which new States were to be formed. I did not believe that any Executive of the United States would venture upon so grave and momentous a proceeding, not only without *any general manifestation* of public opinion in favor of it, but in direct opposition to strong and decided expressions of public disapprobation.

"If, without the loss of national character, without the hazard of foreign war, with the general concurrence of the nation, without any danger to the integrity of the Union, and without giving an unreasonable price for Texas, the question of Annexation were presented, it would appear; in quite a different light from that in which, I apprehend, it is now to be regarded."

"In conclusion, they [his opinions] may be stated in a few words to be, that I consider the Annexation of Texas, at this time, without the assent of Mexico, as a measure compromising the national character, involving us certainly in war with Mexico, probably with other foreign powers, dangerous to the integrity of the Union, inexpedient in the present financial condition of the country, and *not called for by any general expression of public opinion.*

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,
H. CLAY."

This letter, which was written at Raleigh, on the 17th of April last, though evidently unstudied, possesses a charm which no study could impart. It is an easy, frank, and natural expression of sentiments which, whether right or wrong, carry irresistible evidence of being habitual to the writer. The general views are large, humane, and upward. They came as gratefully as distant harmony over spirits which have aspirations for their country and their kind higher than the harlequinry of drunken recruits, and the everlasting glory of bloody battlefields. I have been informed that Mr. Clay wrote the letter during an afternoon in the State-house of North Carolina, and that he was interrupted every half hour by callers. I have observed that the partisan presses of every description, which are opposed to him, have either abstained altogether from publishing it entire, or have been reluctantly drawn into it, by the special exertions of their Whig neighbors. This is very significant. It is "silence that speaks." It is the "unwritten music" of Democracy, for once "harmonious."

In respect to the views on the particular subject, I felt constrained, by a regard for truth and justice, to say at the time, that they appeared to me satisfactory. I cannot here offer so extended a commentary as I wish. I would recommend to every person who may peruse these remarks, to recur to the entire letter. It will not weary; it will never be stale. It condemns the means and motives of the proposed acquisition, and earnestly depreciates the inevitable consequences. The conditions on which it is inferable that he would be willing to admit Texas, are such as, under any supposable state of facts, must forever exclude it. They are:

1st, The consent of Mexico. This will never be given so long as that country retains its independence. Mr. Poinsett was instructed by Mr. Clay, under Mr. Adams, to negotiate, and to offer a million of dollars, for Texas. There were then very few Americans in it, and but a small population of any kind. Slavery had not then been abolished by Mexico, and the decree of abolition been resisted with arms and bloodshed, by a pack of conspirators from the United States; the subject of Slavery had been less attended to among us, than any other in the whole cyclopedia!

"Oh no, we never mention her;
Her name is never heard.

I well remember being told at that time by a man of considerable distinction, who, unbeknown to me, was a great Texas land-jobber, that the Government were negotiating for the cession of the territory. So far from feeling any jealousy of the scheme, I regarded it with patriotic pride, as I had done the recent acquisition of Florida. The speculator showed me a big map, and I felt individually elevated when he gave me the flattering assurance, (of which I still remember the very words,) "Sir, you will have the whole of it; it will be all yours!" I am confident that the feelings of every one, who knew of the existence of the negotiation, were at that time similar to mine. The attempt, therefore, to attach to Adams and Clay a particle of the guilt and responsibility of the conspirators of 1830, and downward, is as devoid of reason as it is of honesty.

But Mr. Poinsett, upon sounding the Mexican Government upon the subject of a cession of the territory, found them so averse to it, and indeed so irritable about it, that he never made the proposition in a formal manner. It would seem, from newspaper publications in Mexico, and from a work on that country by Mr. Ward, at that time British Chargé d'Affaires, that Mr. Poinsett, under the instructions of Jackson, did volunteer the offer of a loan of ten millions upon a mortgage of the country.

Mr. Ward observes that Mr. Poinsett did not state what security he should propose for the redelivery of the territory upon the reimbursement of the loan! The occasion of this offer was a new and final attempt of the Spanish Government to reconquer Mexico. This proposition was considered by Mexico as mean and insidious, inasmuch as it took advantage of a period of peril, distress, and an empty treasury, to drive a bargain for her birthright. The indignation was aggravated by the consideration that the then Constitution, and every Constitution of Mexico forbade the alienation of any portion of the national domain. The Mexican press have always spoken bitterly of this affair, stigmatizing our Government as a pawnbroker. He [Poinsett] entered into deep and dangerous intrigues, to elevate to power a party and a chief who were expected to be more accommodating; but when this had been accomplished at the cost of violating the Constitution—for Guerrero had the votes of 9, and Pedraza of 11 States—it was found that there was such an intense exasperation of the people against our Minister, that he could neither effect the object of his labors, nor remain in the country. Under the pressure of the universal indignation against him, the Mexican Government was constrained to request his recal. President Guerrero performed this task with expressions of personal friendship and good will towards the Minister. Well he might, for Poinsett, by his most unwarrantable interference, and his *masonic* cabals, had made him President; but he could not keep him so. In less than a twelvemonth he was deposed, and generously pensioned: but on engaging in an insurrection, he was made prisoner, tried, condemned, and executed. So much for being the tool of a foreign intriguant.

Anthony Butler, Poinsett's successor, was an absconding debtor, and a Texas land-jobber. He was appointed solely because he was known to General Jackson as a man stimulated by avarice, luxury, and misery, and capable, by his utter destitution of virtue and honor, of pursuing the darling object through all the dirty ways of intrigue and corruption. It has been said that Jackson made *this* appointment with some reference to the fitness of the person for the employment. But so strong and lively was the excitement both in the people and Government on account of our designs upon Texas, that he did not, for nearly three years, venture to revive the subject of the cession; and he writes to Jackson that he considered it prudent to keep quiet "until the subject should be completely lost sight of by *the people*." He also observes that a party had risen into power "which his predecessor [Poinsett] declared to be so hostile to the United States that it would be in vain to expect from them anything like justice." Fortunate for the United States that it was so, and that they were not treated according to the deserts of their rulers! Poinsett had been instructed by Jackson and Van Buren to offer as high as five millions of dollars for Texas, and this instruction was renewed to Butler; but subsequently, upon his representing to Jackson that there was "a stumbling-block in the way, which he *must* remove," Butler had leave to come to Washington for the purpose of conferring personally with the President and Secretary of State, about this "stumbling-block." He came, and the result of the consultations was that he was authorized to apply *half a million of dollars* more for consummating a treaty of Annexation, with a declaration on the part of Jackson, that this Government would have nothing to do with designating the persons to whom that sum should be paid. Butler was told that the means he proposed were "of an equivocal character," and that "no confidence was felt in his success;" but he was likewise told that *he might go back and try*, and this license was accompanied with no restriction as to the means to be used, although the admission had just been made that *the* means, which he proposed to use, were "of an equivocal character." I cannot elucidate this point as I could wish, without documents, which are in the Department of State, and have been withheld from Congress and the country. The declaration that "no confidence was felt" in Butler's plan, was intended to throw dust in the eyes of the American people; for in reality, Jackson did feel so much confidence in it, that he now directed Butler to include in the negotiation *Upper California*, a territory larger than Texas, and making with Texas, about 800,000 square miles, or 500,000,000 of acres, being half of the entire republic of Mexico! The upshot was, that a scheme of downright and rank bribery was arranged between these worthies, and Butler deputed anew to carry it into execution, with a stringent and repeated charge to close the negotiation, and communicate the result, so that the business could be consummated in General Jackson's administration. Jackson's own words at parting with him were:

"Proceed to Mexico, and urge with all your force, a speedy conclusion to the negotiation, so as to let us have the result, if possible, by the meeting of Congress."

In one of his letters to Jackson, Butler said:

"It will require a few months to get everything in motion; but I pledge myself—mark me—I give you my pledge *that your administration shall not close without seeing the object in your possession!*"

Jackson at length, from some cause not fully disclosed, become angry and impatient, and suddenly sent to the Senate a nomination of a successor to Butler. On being apprised of this proceeding, the latter gentleman vented his grief in a long letter to Mr. Forsyth, from which the following is an extract, pointing with prodigious significance upon their mutual accomplices and co-conspirators, and most particularly Houston, in Texas.

"The dismissal he [Jackson] now gives me, only anticipates my own determination. Nothing but the deep interest which I felt in seeing the affair of Texas brought to a successful termination, would have induced me to remain here so long. The affair, in so far as regards our Government, may perhaps be considered as at present concluded; and how far my failure in effecting the object may be attributed to the indiscretion of *certain persons who affect to be in the confidence of the President, and to retail his opinions and declare his purposes*, will be for aftertimes to disclose. I AM IN POSSESSION OF ALL THE FACTS, AND A PRECIOUS COLLECTION THEY ARE."

This letter was dated January 15th, 1836, at which time the revolution in Texas had been commenced. The signal for that was given immediately upon the failure of Jackson's last hope in the negotiation.

While Butler was in Mexico he practised loaning money to small traders at 30 per cent. Some of these cases became the subject of judicial investigation, and the loans were declared forfeited for usury. He smuggled goods under the ambassadorial privilege of importing articles free of duty for *his own use*. There was a tobacco shop in Mexico which he stocked with Havana cigars. He refused to pay his board and washing, and pleaded his privilege as Minister of the United States to exempt him and his property from attachment. He assaulted an American citizen in the street with a large knotted cane, and he threatened by letter to assault and chastise in a public manner General Tornel, the Mexican Secretary of War.

I have been informed by a respectable American merchant, long resident in the city of Mexico, that Butler was so infamous in his private character, that no American gentleman held intercourse with him. His recal was requested by the Mexican Government, and as he tarried and continued his outrages after the arrival of his successor, he was ordered to quit the country. Other disgraceful details might be given, but these are a sufficient specimen of the consequences of such a system of appointments as crept into the Government with Andrew Jackson, and has continued ever since.

The Mexicans, having in the beginning given the emigrants land as a charity upon their soliciitation, having exempted them from taxes and duties for ten years, protected their industry, and passed laws for their accommodation with a kindness and liberality altogether unparalleled, have been deeply wounded by the ungrateful and treacherous return which a portion of the emigrants, with the help of their American allies, have made. *Citizens of* the United States from being the most beloved and trusted, have become the most odious of all foreigners. If there ever was a deep-seated and inextinguishable national resentment, it now exists in the bosom of Mexico towards the Texans, and their American allies. Divided on questions of internal government and policy, they are perfectly united in determined hostility to these. This is a spell of power which can make them unite, and fall orderly into the ranks. The common designation of the Texans for a great many years before the war was "los colonos ingratos," the ungrateful emigrants. The Mexicans are generous, hospitable, and brave; they are not generally possessed of so much energy or physical strength as Americans, but they have a keen sense of injury and large pertinacity.

I now put it to you whether it is possible for that people, so long as they retain a national existence, to give their consent and aid to the consummation of the conspiracy, which has been operating almost twenty years to irritate, insult, rob, degrade them, and cause most of their national calamities? Depend upon it they have determined to risk all on the Texas issue, having made up their minds, after long and painful experience, that if they do not now fight for their rights, they will soon have to fight us for their existence; unless haply other men shall be placed in power at Washington, and wise, just, and humane counsels shall there at length prevail. If Mr. Clay had named no condition but that of the consent of Mexico, I should consider that on this ground alone, Annexation is impossible.

But Mr. Clay declares he will not agree to annex Texas in "decided opposition to the wishes of any considerable and respectable portion of the Confederacy." This, I understood at first, to mean a State or a section, and this construction has been confirmed by Mr. Clay in a late communication to the editor of a paper in Alabama. In that he says:

"I consider the Union a great political partnership; and that new members ought not to be admitted into the concern at the imminent hazard of its dissolution. Personally, I could have no objection to the Annexation of Texas; but I certainly would be unwilling to see the existing Union dissolved or seriously jeoparded for the sake of acquiring Texas."

It is a principle of law that no new partner can be admitted into a partnership without the consent of each of the old ones. Mr. Clay mentions particular States, in view, of whose repugnance to the measure, he laid down his rule. These were Ohio, Vermont, and Massachusetts. In my opinion, the decided opposition of any one State, would create the contingency upon which Mr. Clay's promise would attach. But, beyond all doubt, the decided opposition of three States would bind him in terms to oppose Annexation. Is not this sufficient? Does it not secure the object at least for four years. I have not the least fear that the time will ever come when we cannot get a dozen States to resist to the last the extension of slavery, and the slave-trade by the agency of this nation; or the imposition of taxes upon the honest industry of this people, for the purpose of bestowing principalities upon the ingrates, the renegades, and conspirators of Texas, and the blacklegs of the United States.

Other objections stated by Mr. Clay are in their nature permanent, and irremovable, that for instance, against the game of adding to one part to strengthen it against another part of the Confederacy. This unquestionably is the primary motive. Mr. Clay knew it, it has been formally and officially avowed by Tyler, Upshur, Calhoun, Southern Legislatures, and the leading Southern presses. This objection is based upon a state of mind, inseparable from Southern Slavery, and it cannot be obviated by anything short of the abolition of Slavery. But indeed the whole tenor and spirit of the letter is eminently just, benevolent, and pacific, wholly and teetotally incompatible with the injustice, fraud, and violence, which have marked the design, the means, the inception, and progress of the Annexation conspiracy.

The declaration of Mr. Clay that "personally he has no objection to the Annexation of Texas," has been much animadverted upon; and it is the only passage of all that he has written on this subject, which our able friend and coadjutor, George Bradburn, has thought proper to quote or to allude to, in showing Mr. Clay up, and putting him down. I think, that on reflection, Bradburn will be sensible that this is as unworthy of himself and the cause, as it is unjust to Clay. Friend Bradburn teaches, if I understand him, the doctrine that danger of seeming to be what we are not, is a justification of not acting out what we really are; and that he would not vote for a Whig candidate though he should himself see it to be right, if it would seem to his Anti-Slavery and reforming associates to be wrong, and inconsistent, and so forfeit their respect and confidence. If it would have this effect, there must be something radically wrong in them—and they ought to begin to reform themselves. Surely, such tyranny would be as intolerable as Slavery.

Mr. Clay has written yet another letter, of which the following are the most material parts:

"It [Texas] had been wrested from the dominion of Mexico by citizens, many of whom went armed, from the United States. The war between Mexico and Texas had not been terminated by any treaty of peace. Mr. Tyler not only did not consult Mexico, but he announced that her assent to the annexation was altogether unnecessary."

"A powerful opposition has arisen in the United States against the Annexation of Texas to them. Several States had declared, through their legislatures, against it, and others, if not whole sections of the Union, were believed to be adverse to it. This was the opposition to the measure, to which in my Raleigh letter, I alluded, when I spoke of a considerable and respectable portion of the Confederacy. I did not refer to persons, but to States or sections.

"Under such circumstances I could not but regard the Annexation of Texas, at this time, as compromising the honor of my country, involving it

assumption that neither of the great parties intended as such to oppose it, the Liberty Party leaders and presses gave out that it would be a consolation and compensation for the extreme profligacy and perniciousness of the measure, that it would prodisiously increase the Liberty Party. Some even piously affected to believe that Providence permitted a pro-slavery plot so dreadful to be hatched for that very purpose! But as soon as it became apparent that the Whigs must necessarily be the centre of this resistance, and that capital could not be made of it by a minor party, the "third party," leaders suddenly changed their tone, and declared Annexation a bagatelle, and opposition to it a Whig stalking-horse. The slaveholders of Southampton, in Virginia, and some twenty more counties, were in such consternation at Nat Turner's insurrection, that they had breath only to cry, "arms, arms," "havoc," "inhuman butchery," "the tomahawk and scalping-knife are nothing to this," but as soon as humane and patriotic men from the western and middle part of the State proposed, in view of that event, measures for abolishing slavery; those same slaveholders turned round and ridiculed the insurrection as "a petty affair," and made a great deal of fun of it! The Locofocos did not give a more decisive proof of their depravity, as a party, when for the sake of Texas and slavery, they turned their backs in a trice upon their professions, their instructions, their constituents, and the *majority* rule, than did the Liberty Party leaders, in their sudden somerset on Texas. If these movements should be sustained by the mass of disinterested and reflecting men in those parties, it will inspire more fear and anxiety for the fate of this republic, than the course of slavery, terrible as that has ever been, has caused, or ought to cause.

Mr. Clay's declaration, countenancing, (though not intending to do so,) the factious course of the Liberty Party leaders, is abundantly refuted by himself in the Frankfort discourse, from which I gave extracts in the first part of this letter. The drift of that discourse is to prove that the filling up of the slave territory to the full extent of the demand, would reduce the price, and make slave-breeding a losing business; and he specified "that very fact of the annexation of Louisiana," as one great cause of the enhancement of the price of slaves, and consequently of the prolongation of slavery. Now, then, the question is reduced to a simple sum in the rule of three. If it has taken forty years to fill up Louisiana and Florida, so as at length to make the price of slaves begin to descend, and the hopes of humanity to rise, how long will it take to fill up Texas, which will furnish more and better land for planting, than we have ever had yet? In the very sentence containing this mistake, Mr. Clay relies on "the laws of population," for doing away slavery. What is this but a new proof from himself of the error with which it is coupled. How are the "laws of population" to operate any more than municipal laws on subjects perpetually eluding their grasp, first by going to Texas, and then, (as they inevitably will,) beyond it, "pouring themselves out, in the words of Wise, "without restraint, and finding no limit but the Southern Ocean."

Mr. Clay has said other things at various periods, from which I dissent, and which every Abolitionist must ever dissent from and condemn. The most obnoxious of them was said in the Senate, in February, 1839, viz: "Were I citizen of the planting States—the Southern or Southwestern States, I should have opposed, and would continue to oppose, any scheme of emancipation, gradual or immediate."

I have many times characterized this sentiment as inhuman, and I think no better of it now. In one respect, however, my opinion of its author has undergone a considerable change. For a long time I did believe that he said it contrary to his conviction, to curry favor with the South, hoping thereby to obtain their votes for the Presidency. That he cherished such hope, and was influenced by it, I do not doubt; but I am satisfied that he did not act the hypocrite. The sentiment has been habitual to him, and was sincere. In the Frankfort discourse, delivered ten years before, he expressed himself to the same effect, as follows:

"If the question were submitted whether there should be immediate, or gradual emancipation of all the slaves in the United States, without their removal or colonization, painful as it is to express the opinion, I have no doubt that it would be unwise to emancipate them."

As a man's words are to be taken together to ascertain his meaning, so are his actions to be all taken together to determine his real character and disposition. Mr. Clay, though nurtured, reared, and educated amidst the perverting influences of Slavery, and though poor, and dependent upon popular favor, started in life with stemming the popular current, and demanding of the grey beards of Kentucky the abolition of Slavery. Had his wise and philanthropic counsels prevailed, there would in all probability have been comparatively little for Abolitionists to do at this day. The intention, and not the success of an action, is the moral criterion of its merit. He has shown a quick, responsive, and boundless sympathy in all the struggles of all peoples for freedom. The South-Americans read his trumpet-toned speeches at the head of the liberating armies; and the Greeks, and Spaniards, in their respective efforts for self-emancipation, were comforted, strengthened, and consoled by his great and friendly voice. There was a time when I looked on Henry Clay as the ablest champion of the Liberals of all nations. Next to Lafayette, no man in all the world was regarded by them with more affection, admiration, and confidence, than Henry Clay. Having had much intercourse with that class of men, gathered from all parts of Europe at an interesting conjuncture of contemporary history, I may be permitted to bear witness of their sentiments. That time has gone by, and I now contemplate Mr. Clay with altered feelings, not because he has changed, but because he has not changed. I have learned to consider, and treat all men as "made of one blood," and "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;" and in His name I go for those rights, irrespective of clime, color, sex, or creed. I have, however, always believed that Henry Clay had a good heart. His professional services were always freely given, and with eminent success, to the downtrodden slaves. Their condition enlisted, from the very beginning of his career, his deep sympathy. "They were torn," he has often said, "from their native home by fraud and violence." "Husbands were torn from their wives, parents from their children, brethren from each other, and every tie, cherished and respected among men, was violated." "They are rational beings like ourselves, capable of feeling, of reflection, and judging of what naturally belongs to them as a portion of the human race." "All the fruits of his exertions are reaped by others." "He is generally indifferent, therefore, to the adverse or prosperous fortunes of his master." "There are undoubtedly many exceptions in which the slave dedicates himself to his master with a zealous and *generous* devotion." "Slavery is wrong, all wrong—wrong to the master, a grievous wrong to the slave." "It is evil, continually evil." "It is a stain upon the nation." "Among the acts of my life which I look back to with most satisfaction, is that of my having co-operated with other zealous and intelligent friends, to procure the adoption of that system [the Pennsylvania plan of emancipation] in this State." These I believe to be unsophisticated effusions of Henry Clay's heart. In respect to the oppression of the Indians, he has uttered again and again deep tones of grief and indignation. I anticipate from you a remark which is natural and unavoidable to one in your and my state of mind. These humane sentiments and just views only render the more inexcusable his own practice of oppression! God forbid that I should gainsay this. That Henry Clay should have polluted himself by forming and continuing a personal connection with a system which he so early saw to be "all wrong," is one of those striking incongruities in human conduct which equally puzzle the brain and pain the heart. But it is an inconsistency no greater nor worse than the cut-throat Christianity of warring nations! It is difficult for us in the free States to make due allowance for the force of slaveholding habits and customs, the seductive influence of surrounding example, and the quieting effect of popular sanction and sympathy. It is a problem yet to be solved, how far moral deviations may be extenuated by the false lights and insensible currents that beset the voyage of our life. Every just mind does necessarily take these into account. In the divine mind they make the difference between "many stripes" and "few." No sane man will pretend that the human sacrifices of ancient Carthage, Britain, and Mexico, and of modern Africa and Hindostan, were and are murders! that Calvin beheaded Gruet and burned Servetus from malice; that the gentle Melancthon maliciously approved of it! or that Judge Sewall, of Massachusetts, while he was writing "The Selling of Joseph," probably the first treatise against negro slavery that was ever published—was at the same time committing murder in sending his fellow-citizens to the gallows for witchcraft! But if Mr. Clay were much more objectionable than his worst enemies pretend, still the choice is betwixt him and Polk—betwixt the circumscribing, and speedy extermination of Slavery, and of the incalculable and innumerable national harms that emanate from it, and the indefinite strengthening and extension of them all. He who is not for the former, is for the latter.

Respectfully, your friend and fellow-servant,

D. L. CHILD.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, SEPT. 5, 1844.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

Recrimination has been, from the days of Æsop downwards, a favorite weapon of defence. It is very satisfactory when some wrong-doing is brought home to your door, to be able to turn the tables upon your reprover by reproaching him with some other sort of offending. It saves a vast deal of self-examination and self-reproach, and confirms one in a comfortable habit of regarding the faults of others rather than one's own. This patent invention for conscience-saving, this royal road to peace of mind,—answers as well for nations as for individuals. At least the inhabitants of the Model Republic have found it of great use in their national capacity. The Americans are to a proverb the most thin-skinned of mortals. Their sensitiveness to any reflections upon their manners or their character, amounts to a disease. But unfortunately it exhibits itself rather in irritable complainings and recrimination, than in a manly acknowledgment of folly or crime, and an honest endeavor at amendment. It is not guilt that annoys them so much as detection. They are sorry, not

"That they murdered, but that they are taken."

Like Yorick's French landlord, they make a wide distinction between the *sin* and the *scandal*. The maxim of monarchy, that the King can do no wrong, is virtually, though in a different sense, applied to the sovereigns of the Republic, in their joint and several capacities. It is the unpardonable sin to impugn the elegance of their manners, the accuracy of their taste, or the perfection of their private and public morals. Slavery, Lynch-law, and Repudiation, are all defended to the uttermost, and when nothing more can be said there is always some recrimination in store, some sin of his own to be thrown in the face of their reprover, which at once restores them to a complacent contemplation of their own excellencies.

But of all who have ever presumed to criticise the manners or the morals of the Americans, there are none more hateful to them than the English. The memory of old wrongs, the sense of inferiority in the accomplishments and appliances of a highly advanced civilization, the rivalships of diplomacy and of trade, have all helped to make the American doubly sensitive to the sneer or to the rebuke of the Englishman. To prove that the charges which England brings against America are unfounded, a very concise and compendious method is employed. To rebut any impeachment of the character of the institutions, or of the inhabitants of the New World, it is only necessary to bring an answering accusation against those of the Old. If we have slave-representation, they have an hereditary monarch, a house of peers, and an established church. If we have Slavery, have they not a starving manufacturing and agricultural population? We have Repudiation, to be sure, but they have the national debt and the tithe system. If they point to the horrors of our internal slave-trade, we in return tell them to look at the oppressions of their own coal-mines. If they upbraid us with our treatment of the Indian tribes, the answer is ready, Hindostan and China. The institution of Lynch-law we admit, but plead as a set-off the disturbances in the manufacturing districts, and the achievements of Rebecca and her daughters.

But especially does our national gorge rise at the boasted emancipation by England of her West India slaves. This is an injury in the dearest point. Here is a fact, which, explain it away, and lie about it as we may, will forever look us in the face with a reproachful significance. This is a thing that we shall never forgive, until we shall have gone and done likewise. The just pride of the Englishman in this act of wise justice, is gall and bitterness to us. We cannot deny the fact, but we may impugn the motives. We must admit that the British nation at a great, and an unnecessary expense, has rid itself of the load of chattel servitude, and has not now a slave within its dominions; but then we can prove, to our own satisfaction, at least, that it was not humanity, but selfishness, not justice, but a wish to intermeddle with the affairs of its neighbors, that impelled it to the deed. It is a melancholy fact, that the cross of St. George does not float over a slave, or a slave-auction, but then we have the comfort of reflecting that there are yet wrongs and wretchedness enough unredressed and unrelieved beneath its folds. We have at least the consolation of knowing, that though our mother-country has cleared her skirts of the abominations of negro slavery, she is not yet entirely without sin; so that we may still avail ourselves of the example of her faults, while we reject with contempt that of her virtues.

I have no disposition to deny or to extenuate the many oppressions that are yet done beneath the Heavens by the government, or by the people of Great Britain. The predominence of the aristocratic element in the machinery of State and of society; the unjust imposition of a chosen seet upon the unwilling nation; the army and the navy, and the oppressions of which they are at once the instruments and the victims; the unjust wars of times past and present, and the mountain-load of debt which they have heaped upon the devoted heads of the people; the squalid starvation which deforms the green roadsides of the country and the crowded streets of the cities; all these are things to be acknowledged, and to be deplored. Justice demands that what England has done should never blind us to what yet remains for her to do. And the Abolitionists of America will be the last men in the world to withhold their testimony against whatever of injustice or wrong yet remains unredressed. *They* admit the right and the duty of one man and of one nation, to point out to another their crimes, and to preach unto them repentance and reformation. But with whatever justice and consistency a stern moralist may rebuke the prominent sins of Great Britain, it ill becomes those who are loudest in urging them against her to utter the rebuke; for the very crimes which they condemn, they themselves commit. They who defend or apologize for slavery; they who worship the political institutions of the United States, as they now are; they who accept the social state of the country, as at present organized; are ill-employed in reiterating the hackneyed charges against Great Britain. Their reproaches and recriminations prove, not their virtue and their nice sense of justice, but their meanness, their profligacy, and their hypocrisy. The men who consent to submit to a government controlled by the weakest and vilest aristocracy that God ever permitted to lord it over their brethren, should have little to say against the aristocracy of England, which has at least some greater pretensions to the respect of the nation than slave-whips, branding-irons, and thumb-screws can give. The love of conquest and domination of England is not to be justified, nor the horrors to which it has led to be denied or excused, but the rebuke falls but ungracefully from the lips of a people who are driving the aboriginal-owners of the soil farther and farther towards the Pacific Ocean; whose great extent of country does not satisfy their appetite for wider dominions; who have wrested Texas from Mexico; and who are even now seizing upon Oregon; and whose eager eyes are gloating upon the Church-plate, and the silver mines of Mexico. The conquest of India, and the invasion of China are acts which justice and humanity disavow, but the arms of England were at least directed against foes in some degree her equals in strength. The populous East, and the region of far Cathay afforded fields where such honor as may be gained by arms, might be achieved, and gave to those enterprises, unjust as they were, somewhat of the dignity of danger. But what can be said to elevate the story of a powerful nation, boasting to be the champion of universal liberty, fighting the battles of slavery for years against a few hundred savages, and scarcely succeeding at last, after the expenditure of many thousands of lives, and of forty millions of money?

And how is it with regard to the poverty and destitution of the laboring classes of Great Britain? Is there any difference of principle between the two countries, which accounts for this difference between the condition of their laborers, and gives just reasons for the one to exult over the other? What has reduced the mother country to her present condition in this respect? The adoption of a selfish and exclusive policy, designed to monopolize all the fruits of the labor and enterprise of her own people. This policy multiplied the laboring population until the price of labor in the market fell below the price of subsistence. Then poverty and starvation succeeded to a temporary period of inflated prosperity. Now, however justly the philanthropist or the political economist may blame this policy on the part of England, surely the mouths of those should be shut, who are promoting and defending precisely the same line of policy in this country, on precisely the same selfish grounds. And as to the present difference of condition between the laborers of England and America,—is it the result of any superior public or private virtue in the more favored land, or to circumstances over which its inhabitants have no direct control? The English manufacturer or farmer goes into the labor-market and buys what he wants as cheap as he can. Does the American do anything else? Is the present high price of labor owing to the indomitable purpose of the employers that their laborers *shall* have "two dollars a day and roast beef," at all events, or to the circumstances of the country which makes labor comparatively scarce and dear? When, in course of time, such a change takes place that men shall sue for leave to toil at a quarter of a dollar a week, will American masters insist upon giving them two dollars a day? I trow not. But if not, they have no reason to reproach their English contemporaries for doing precisely what they would do in like case. The rights and the wrongs of this question are to be settled by the discussions and by the experiments of those who demand a reorganization of society. *They* may, with some of show of reason, blame the English capitalists for the misery produced by the present competitive arrangements of society. Not so those who accept the present state of things, and are content to buy and sell their labor as well as its profits, in the market, as best they may. I have no time, if I had the inclination, to enter here into the consideration of an important question, which I have not yet maturely considered; but I am sure that America has no just reason to exult over England for an advantage which she owes, not to her virtue, but to her position.

In brief, then, I apprehend there are none of the arguments which are urged by the apologists and defenders of slavery, to prove that England is a selfish and tyrannical nation, in spite of her act of emancipation, that does not apply with equal force to America herself. She has proved herself to be as greedy, insatiable, unscrupulous, profuse of life and of honor as her Father-land in all the particulars alledged against it. But there is this difference between them,—whereas England was once a slave-holding, slave-trading, slave-breeding country, she is so no more. Numerous as her offences against justice and humanity may still be, she has at least freed herself from this load of guilt. While America, on the other hand, is guilty of every crime and practice which she condemns in England, the effects only modified in some cases by circumstances beyond her control, and of negro slavery into the bargain. England has repented of one of her iniquities, at last, and has brought forth fruits meet for repentance. America still uplifts her brazen front before the nations, and insults God and man by her unblushing avowal and defence of her crimes, and by her curses and revilings of those who by their example or their warnings would save her from the consequences of her guilt. Of whether of the two is there the most rational ground for hope of a complete reformation,—of her who has repented and reformed herself of one vice out of many, or of her who still persists in all, and glories in the worst? When America shall have abolished her system of chattel slavery, then, and not till then, will she be in a position to rebuke England for her errors or her crimes, with consistency and with grace.—Q.

MR. CHILD'S LETTER.

This document, which is finished in this week's paper, I have neither the wish nor the intention of answering. It gives a great deal of valuable and interesting historical information upon the subject of Texas, which cannot be read, whether by Abolitionists or others, without profit. It repeats also Mr. Child's opinion, so often given while Editor of the Standard, of the Anti-Slavery character of the Whig party, as compared with what he esteems the pro-slavery character of its opponent. On this point, I, for one, do not wish to hold any controversy, believing them both to be equally, so far as the question of Slavery is concerned, of the devil. Each will do, and do gladly, the work of the Abolitionists, when compelled to do so by a sufficiently strong Anti-Slavery sentiment in the people, or if either can, by so doing, turn that sentiment to their own political aggrandizement. Any examination, then, of their history, for the past ten years, to learn their real character, should be made not to ascertain which is the most Anti-Slavery, or even the least pro-slavery, but simply to examine the circumstances by which each has been surrounded. And it will be found that the merit, if it may be called so, of doing Anti-Slavery work is about equally divided; or if one has a greater share than the other, it is owing, not to any inherent purity in the one, or essential wickedness in the other, but only because their positive or relative positions have been such that they could not, if they would, help doing, in obedience to the law of necessity, or of interest, just what they then and there did. The final triumph of Anti-Slavery principles in the Government of Massachusetts was consumated when the democratic was the dominant party: no thanks, however, to the Democrats, for they did just what the Whigs would have done had they been in power—obeyed the power behind the throne greater than the throne itself. So too in Congress, the Whigs have been the defenders of the right of petition—a question, by the bye, to which, I am constrained to believe, factitious importance has been given by the course pursued by Mr. Adams—but it has been a partisan question, on which they have taken the one side because their opponents took the other,—the latter forced by self-interest into that position because they were the dominant party, and must therefore obey the South, to secure their own domination. Had their relative positions been changed, their *principles* would have been changed also. "The misfortune of (*both*) is to have no character except what circumstances, temptation, and opportunity may impress upon them for the time."

It is contended that the democratic is the pro-slavery party, because their candidate is in favor of Annexation, and that as Annexation will be the extension and perpetuation of slavery, as Abolitionists we are bound to give our votes for the support of the man who opposes so wicked a scheme. It is the main, as it is the ostensible purpose of Mr. Child's article to show that this evil deed will be defeated by the action of the Whig party if Mr. Clay shall be elected. This is the ground taken by the Whigs every where, and for no other reason could their leading politicians have the impudence to ask the suffrages of the Abolitionists. Of course, then, it must be shown, that their Presidential candidate is really, and in good faith, opposed to Annexation, because it will extend and perpetuate Slavery, otherwise the whole argument falls to the ground. It will not do even to give his position the favor of a doubt, if there be any, but his opposition must be unequivocal and complete. If there be a doubt, it seems to me, that should settle the question against him, for it would be carrying the doctrine of "doing evil that good may come," beyond all reason, to support the doing of positive evil with a doubtful hope that good *may be* the consequence. Fortunately, however, we need no hair-splitting in this case, for there is no doubt. We have the most authentic and indubitable evidence as to Mr. Clay's opinion—Mr. Clay's own words. *He is not opposed to the Annexation of Texas, if at all, on Anti-Slavery grounds.* Our friend's fourteen columns, then, excellent as they are for their historical research, and for the intimate acquaintance they show with the Government, and of parties for many years past, entirely fail to show it to be the duty of Abolitionists to vote for Henry Clay, because he is opposed to the perpetuation of Slavery by Annexation, for one very essential reason,—simply because he is not! With all due deference be it spoken, this seems to me to be as remarkable an instance of the *petitio principium* as can be found in any of the books.

One of two things seems to be very certain. Either Mr. Clay has most egregiously deceived the Whigs, or the Whigs have most villainously deceived the people. On either horn of the dilemma, there hangs some most consummate hypocrisy somewhere. Mr. Clay has been held up as the anti-annexation candidate, *par excellence*. Everywhere,—in all the leading Whig papers, by all the leading Whig orators, it has been claimed for this party that it is the Anti-Slavery party, so far as Texas is concerned; and this, too, has been claimed as covering the whole ground of Slavery. The question of war with Mexico, the unconstitutionality of annexing foreign territory, the assumption of a heavy national debt, have been winked out of sight, or if looked at at all, it has been as very minor and secondary matters. Slavery! Slavery! has been the cry from one end of the land to the other, or at least from one end of the land to Mason and Dixon's line. It has been whispered even in private circles—as too good news to break to the people suddenly, and without further preparation—that such is the immaculate virtue of Mr. Clay on the subject of Slavery, that *after his election*—he is too noble to court popularity by doing it *before*—he would emancipate his own slaves! And that Slavery in the District, and the domestic slave-trade, would be immediately abolished on the accession of the Whigs to power. But leaving these proofs of the incipient Millennium of Mr. Adams out of the question, the Raleigh letter of April 17th has been pointed to triumphantly, in proof that the Whig candidate is opposed to Annexation on Anti-Slavery grounds. It is difficult to conceive how *any Abolitionist* could have been deceived by that letter, so worthy of Machiavel himself, and so ingenious a proof—inferior only, if at all, to Mr. Van Buren's peculiar power—of concealing thoughts by words. But wrapped up in all its talk about a war with Mexico, and territorial limits, there was enough said for politicians to hang the assertion upon, that Mr. Clay was in sympathy with the North on the Anti-Slavery bearing of the question. No doubt it was meant to say one thing to the North, and another to the South, and the North, as she always is, was very ready to be gulled. But the South, it seems, has thought the gulling to be too much in earnest, and that the *humbug* might have unpleasant consequences. She, at all events, means to have always a fair understanding, and gets now a little frightened, lest this *playing freedom* which she tickled her vassal with, should really be taken to be no play, from its long continuance. So she demands another letter that there may be no mistake, for the Raleigh letter, the result has proved, was rather too ingenious even for her as this last one *ought* to prove, if there were any manliness in the Whig party, too unequivocal for the North.

I annex an extract which blows to the winds all the arguments addressed to the abolitionists, to induce them to vote for Henry Clay, as the anti-Annexation, and therefore Anti-Slavery candidate for the Presidency. The whole letter, for which we have not room to-day, will be published in next week's paper.—G.

But, gentlemen, you are desirous of knowing by what policy I would be guided, in the event of my election as chief magistrate of the United States, in reference to the question of the annexation of Texas. *I do not think it right to announce in advance, what will be the course of a future administration, in respect to a question with a foreign power. I have, however, no hesitation in saying that, far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas, I should be glad to see it, without dishonor—without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms. I do not think that the subject of slavery ought to affect the question one way or the other.* Whether Texas be independent, or incorporated in the United States, I do not believe it will shorten the duration of that institution. It is destined to become extinct at some distant day, in my opinion, by the operation of the inevitable laws of population. *It would be unwise to refuse a permanent acquisition, which will exist as long as the globe remains, on account of a temporary institution.*

ERRATUM.—To all discriminating persons it is needless, probably, to say that the notice of "George Bradburn's Letter," in last week's paper, should have had the initial "G." and not the "Q." attached to it.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

SIXTEEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

The steamship Great Western, Capt. Matthews, arrived at this port a little before 7 o'clock on Saturday evening, in fourteen days, from Liverpool. She had London dates to the 16th, and Liverpool to the 17th, inclusive.

The steamer Hibernia, Capt. Ryrie, which sailed from Liverpool on the afternoon of the 20th ultimo, arrived at East Boston at twenty minutes after 3 o'clock, Sunday afternoon.

They bring no news of great moment. We glean the following items:

The cotton market remains unchanged.

Mehemet Ali has abdicated the throne of Egypt in favor of his son Ibrahim, and is going on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Joseph Bonaparte is dead. Also, the Grand Duchess Alexandria of Hesse, daughter of the Emperor of Russia.

An election recently took place for a member of Parliament for Dudley. Mr. Benbow, Conservative, beat Mr. Rawson, anti-Corn Law, by 213 votes.

The abolition of Imprisonment for Debt took effect in England on the 9th. A number of debtors owing less than $100 were liberated on that day.

Washington Irving is in Paris, and is about to visit London.

Tangier has been severely bombarded by a French fleet under the Prince de Joinville. It was thought that this would end the scuffle between France and Morocco.

The King of Saxony has gone home from England. The Prince Royal of Prussia is now visiting there.

The Queen is confidently expected to visit Ireland next summer.

Nothing new has transpired in Ireland, nor with regard to O'Connell.

Accouchment of the Queen.—Queen Victoria was safely delivered of a son, at Windsor Castle, at ten minutes to 3 o'clock, on the evening of the 6th ultimo.

Birth of a French Princess.—We are happy to state that the Princess de Joinville was, at half past 12 o'clock last night, safely delivered of a Princess, at Neuilly.

Parliament stands adjourned until September 5th, to enable the House of Lords to give judgment in the case of Mr. O'Connell, and also to afford the Minister an opportunity, should he think proper to embrace it, of bringing the foreign relations of the country before the National Inquest.

Parliament has repealed the penal laws which disgraced the statutes, respecting the Roman Catholics. A bill, conceived in a similar spirit, enabling property to be legally transferred to the use of the Church of Rome in Ireland, was introduced and passed.

Judgment in the case of the traversers will be given on the 2d proximo; and although it is generally understood that it will confirm the proceedings in the Irish Court, much will depend upon the opinions which the Judges may entertain with regard to the proceedings connected with the monster trials, whether any portion of Mr. O'Connell's term of incarceration will be curtailed. The Government is much more anxious to come to terms with Mr. O'Connell than he is with them.

IRELAND.

The meeting of the Repeal Association at Dublin on the 5th instant was, as usual, numerously attended. Daniel O'Connell, Jr. announced the continued good health of the imprisoned martyrs, and handed in various sums of money.

Mr. C. Powell, M. P. moved the adoption of an address to the Queen, praying she would liberate Mr. O'Connell, who is stated in the address to be "Her Majesty's most illustrious subject," and "the greatest man of the age." The adoption of the address was seconded by Henry Grattan, Esq. who stated that it had received 1,064,989 signatures. Mr. O'Brien announced the amount of subscriptions to be £946 17s. for the week, and the meeting adjourned.

ITALY.

The Journal of the Two Sicilies of the 27th ultimo, publishes the sentence and execution of nine of the unfortunate young men who sailed from Corfu in June last, for the Calabrias. On the 24th, the military commission sitting at Cosenza, pronounced sentence of death upon seventeen of the persons implicated in the descent upon Calabria, nine of which were carried into effect the following day.

GREECE.

The Cologne Gazette states that the elections in Greece cost the lives of more than forty persons, without counting the wounded.

RUSSIA AND CIRCASSIA.

Accounts from Constantinople to the 17th ultimo, state that information had been received of the defeat of the Russians by the Circassians in Daghestan.

Died.

On the 25th ultimo, at the Community, in Galen, N. Y. EZRA C. SMITH, formerly of Gilmanton, N. H.

In Providence, Rhode Island, on Sunday evening Aug. 25th, Mrs. SARAH BENSON, aged 74, relict of the late Geo. Benson, and mother-in-law of the editor of the Liberator. She was emphatically "one of the excellent of the earth," of a meek and quiet spirit, yet full of active sympathy for her race—endowed with all good qualities—a pattern wife, a devoted mother, a kind neighbor, and a faithful friend. For completeness of character, she had no superior. Her life was a long one, but she did not survive her usefulness. Her loss is a serious one to a large and much attached circle of relatives and friends. Hers was the life as well as the death of the righteous. She has gone to her reward.—*Liberator.*

NOTICES.

PHILADELPHIA FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, will be held on Thursday afternoon, September 12th, at Sarah Douglass' schoolroom, Seventh st. below Arch. PHEBE EARLE, *Sec.*

WINDHAM COTNTY.—(POSTPONED.)

The Windham County Anti-Slavery Society will hold a meeting in Chaplin, on Thursday, the 20th (not 13th) instant, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m.

It is to be hoped the abolitionists in this vicinity will rally in mass to this meeting. Speakers of ability and eminence are expected to be present.

JAMES B. WHITCOMB. Sec'y.

FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE.

It is proposed to hold a series of conventions throughout the State of Ohio, this summer and fall, to spread Anti-Slavery light and truth abroad, and awaken the people to a sense of their responsibilities in reference to this all-important subject. We appeal to you, fellow-citizens, to your sympathies and sense of justice, for the means of keeping such men as Amos Dresser and Henry Bibb in the field; the one to show what we have to do with slavery, the other to tell of the wrongs and sufferings of the slave, (he having been one of the sufferers,) with pathos and natural eloquence that goes directly to the heart, awakening the tender sympathies of the soul and taking directly hold of the individual's conscience.

Shall they and all others be enabled to plead the cause of freedom and rebuke the wrong?

Shall tongues be mute when deeds are wrought,
That well might shame extremest hell,
Shall freemen lack the indignant thought,
Shall mercy's bosom cease to swell?
"Shall honor bleed, shall truth succumb,
Shall pen, and thought, and soul be dumb.
By all above, around, below,
Be our indignant answer, No.
"Up then in freedom's manly part,
From grey-head eld to fiery youth,
And on the nation's naked heart,
Scatter the living coals of truth."

Contributions and pledges can be handed to A. F. Hanna, Cadiz, and Cyrus McNeely, Harrison county, Jane Boyd, Lloydsville, Belmont county, Thomas Moore, Carroll county, George Garretson, Treasurer, New Lisbon, Columbiana county, Elihu Bailey, Somerset, Belmont county, or to myself.

Those friendly to the above object are requested to act as agents in making contributions in their respective neighborhoods.

SAMUEL BROOKE.
Gen. Agent, O. A. A. S. Society.

CADIZ, July 3d, 1844.

THE ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

This annual effort for the sustentation of the anti-slavery cause, will be made in Amory Hall, Boston, commencing on Tuesday, December 24th, 1844. By its means it is, that the debts of the cause, last year, were discharged; so that it is, at this moment, free to put its unencumbered strength, in the prosecution of THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS, through the medium of which, this appeal reaches you. If you wish slavery to cease, you cannot more effectually aid in its extinction, than by upholding this Fair. The experience of ten years enables the women of Massachusetts to present it to you as an effectual channel, through which your sympathy may unite with that of others, to swell the flood of effort by which high principle shall be diffused, and right feeling excited, till the horrible institution of slavery shall be swept away.

None of the funds raised by means of this Fair are ever permitted to run to waste in building up a political party, or in defraying electioneering expenses. They are used to promulgate, through the press, and by the living voice, the truths of freedom, which convert men's hearts to the cause. We give a guaranty for the economical and judicious disposal of them, by providing for their expenditure by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Without going back for years, to recapitulate former help, the beneficial consequences of which are in perpetual glow, we will simply state that the proceeds of this last year's Fair were TWENTY-ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, exclusive of many small appropriations, and the necessary expenses; and that, lacking the prospect of this aid, neither the Hundred Western Conventions, nor the Hundred Conventions now in progress through Massachusetts would have been undertaken. The influence of the cause might be increased ten-fold, by means of that aid from the commonwealth generally, which it is disposed, if the way were open, to afford. A few words of suggestion may open this way. Permit us to make them for the cause's sake.

First. We entreat whomsoever this sheet reaches, instantly to announce an intention of aiding the ELEVENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR, and to form, if possible, a little circle for weekly anti-slavery effort through the year. Gain all the aid possible, but *wait for no one else.* Whoever begins will be the nucleus round which much help will gather at length.

Second. To remember that there is nothing useful or ornamental—no mechanical, agricultural, or manufacturing product—nothing either to eat, drink, or wear—no work of taste or art, for household use or decoration—but will (so perfect have our arrangements at length become) be made as available to the cause as its worth in money.

Third. To correspond with us for the purpose of benefiting us by your suggestions, and receiving the aid of ours. For it may often be in the power of all the friends of the cause, mutually to aid each other by the interchange of materials and labor, and by furnishing the newest patterns of articles of dress, or models of articles of furniture.

There surely needs no searching argument or eloquent appeal to commend the cause of freedom and humanity to professed republicans and Christians. All see and feel that it is a good and noble thing to spring to the relief and rescue of one human being undergoing wrong, or peril, or suffering. But here are will-nigh THREE MILLIONS, undergoing all the suffering, wrong, and peril of SLAVERY, that incarnation of all that is dreadful to the sons and daughters of Massachusetts, while all that universal man holds dear and holy is endangered by the existence of such a blighting institution. Righteous principle dies out—good feeling is extinguished—our country is endangered—our character as a people dishonored; and will not you, who admire a single act of devotedness, though done but for a single human being, be true to your own moral nature, and gladly give time, labor, money, prayer, sacrifice, that so you may save a nation—redeem a race—ennoble an age?

Let us hear from you speedily, and consider us your servants for the cause's sake,

M. W. Chapman,	*Ann T. G. Phillips,*
Mary G. Chapman,	*Susan C. Cabot,*
Eliza L. Follen,	*Olivia Bowditch,*
Sarah S. Russell,	*Sarah B. Shaw,*
Hellen E. Garrison,	*Lavinia Hilton,*
Anne Warren Weston,	*Thankful Southwick,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Maria White,*
Frances Mary Robbins,	*Louisa Loring,*
Hannah Tufts,	*Catherine Sargent,*
M. A. W. Johnson,	*Caroline Weston,*
Anna R. Philbrick,	*Mary Young,*
Harriet B. Jackson,	*Mary F. Rogers,*
Louisa M. Sewall,	*Caroline F. Williams,*
Abby Southwick,	*Mary Willey,*
Marian Fuller,	*Ann R. Bramhall.*

BOSTON, February 8, 1844.

ANTI-SLAVERY PIC-NIC AND FAIR.

The meeting of the friends of Emancipation, which was proposed for the first of August, will take place on SATURDAY, September 14th. At which time we hope to meet in company with a numerous throng of Abolitionists, and do something for the oppressed millions of our countrymen. WILLIAM L. GARRISON, and EDMUND QUINCY, have signified their determination to be present, and other tried friends and advocates of the cause are expected. Arrangements have been made to procure the services of the Hutchinsons. We anticipate a good meeting, and cordially invite the friends in the neighboring towns to participate with us on this occasion.

Services will commence at 10 o'clock—place of meeting designated hereafter. Donations are solicited for the Fair and Refreshment table.

The Committee of Arrangements meet at the house of D. S. Godfrey, THURSDAY next, at 3 o'clock, P. M. A punctual attendance is requested.

TAKE NOTICE.

The Fair of the Providence Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, will be held on the 4th of September, in Sabin's Building, Market street. All friends having articles in readiness, or preparation for the Fair, are requested to bear this in mind. Persons having eatables of a good and healthy kind, are reminded that the Provision Table needs their assistance.

The presence of Abolitionists, both in and out of the State, will be *especially agreeable.*

Amarancy Paine,
Caroline Ashley,
Elizabeth Brown, } Managers.
Hannah B. Shove,
Mary Smith,

August 29, 1829.

"VISIT TO THE WEST INDIES."

This is the title of a neat little volume, just published, which is said, by those who have read it, to be very interesting, and calculated to do much good. It is the narrative of a visit made to the British West Indies, in the winter of 1841, by George Truman, John Jackson, and Thomas B. Longstreth; and contains the testimony of these Friends to the happy effects of emancipation in those islands. It may be had at Baker & Crane's, 158 Pearl street, N. Y.; of E. P. Willis, Rochester; Nathaniel Barney, Nantucket; and Joseph Post, Long Island

May 16th, 1844.

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.		**IRON.**	
Pot, first sort	4.12½ a 4.18¾	Pig, Eng. & Sc. ton	33.00 a 34.00
Pearl	4.50 a .	do. American	27.50 a 30.00
CANDLES.		Bar do. rolled	80.00 a .
Mould, tallow lb.	9 a 12	do. Russia P. & I.	100.00 a 102.50
Sperm	29 a 31	do. do. new do.	75.00 a .
Stearic do.	20 a 25	do. Swedes	77.50 a .
COAL.		do. Eng. com.	62.50 a 65.00
Liverpool, chaldron,	8.50 a 9.50	do. do. refined	90.00 a .
Newcastle	7.00 a 8.00	Sheet E. & Am. lb.	5½ a 6¾
Scotch	7.00 a 7.25	Ho

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

MY SISTER'S GRAVE.

Oh! sacred spot! what happy recollections
Gather round it! what volumes does it speak!
Within its narrow confines, it entombs
Youth, innocence, and beauty!—
The sunny smile of that fair face—
The gentle words of kindness—and
The generous glow of love and joy, with which
That heart was wont to thrill, dispensing free
Its bright and happy influence on all
Around—the deeper thoughtfulness of that
Calm soul, filled with high yearnings
For the good and true—*all, all* have ceased;
All are now hushed in its lone silentness!
Something of its own nature
Mortal existence ever needs, to bear it
To the Invisible;—so the mouldering relic
Of the departed, as it mingles with
Its mother earth, to every grain of dust
Within the mound which marks *their* resting-place,
Imparts a holy influence, which to the
Lone mourner's heart, the memory bears
Of the loved *spirit* now unfettered,
Which the animate inhabitant once was,
Of the fair temple they had formed.
Then will I cherish ceaselessly, this *last*
Most sacred relic! Over it, roses
Shall bloom, as emblems pure of her,
And through the trees which wave around,
The gentle evening breeze, to me,
Shall chant a soothing requiem.
The glorious morning sun will shine
Upon that spot,—his mild departing rays
Will shed o'er it a gentle lustre,—
The birds will sing their happy strains around,—
And flowers exhale their fragrance here,—
All nature, in her changeless order,
The varied charms will still unfold,—
The busy path of life, mankind will still
Pursue, still onward press, amid the pleasures
And the pains, the toils, the cares, the happiness
Which undulate it;—as they have done,
All things will yet progress, above, around,
Change still succeeding change,—but oh! to her,
Whose remnant lies *beneath*,—and who so late
Her place amid these active scenes did fill,—
How still and changeless all!
'Tis hard to feel as stern reality
That we had never dreamed *could be*,
So long by happy hopes sustained, by bright
And joyous prospects, one hasty summons
Cannot teach the heart to yield them up:—
Around it they long will cling, as if
Inwoven in its nature. Often before
Our view, in all *her* gentle loveliness
She stands. Each day brings with it still
A crowd of thoughts linked with her memory,
A host of incidents which speak of her;
And in imagination's wild
Delusion, we half unconscious turn,
That smiling face to see!
'Mid scenes where often she has been
And happiness of which she formed a part;—
In her frequented haunts,—the shady wood,—
And streamlet's side,—and at her
Favorite seasons, when the calm
Of even-tide o'er all has thrown a charm,
Or the mild moonbeams soften every object,—
Where often her sweet voice, in simple strains
Of only nature's teaching, would answer to the music
Of her soul. Oh! *there*, and *there*, with agonizing swell,
The over-burdened heart exclaims,
Oh! can it! *must* it be!

A.

CHESTER COUNTY, Pa. 3d month 17th, 1844.

THE CHILD AND THE WATCHER.

BY ELIZABETH B. BARRETT.

Sleep on, baby on the floor,
Tired of all thy playing—
Sleep with smile, the sweeter for
That you dropped away in;
On your curls, fair roundness stand,
Golden lights serenely—
One cheek, pushed out by the hand
Folds the dimple inly.
Little head and little foot
Heavy laid for pleasure;—
Underneath the lids half-shut
Slants the shining azure—
Open-souled in noonday sun
Lo, you lie and slumber;

Nothing evil having done,
Nothing can encumber.
I, who cannot sleep as well,
Shall I sigh to view you?
Or sigh further to foretell
All that may undo you?
Nay, keep smiling, little child,
Ere the fate appeareth!
I smile, too! for patience mild
Pleasure's token weareth.
Nay, keep smiling before loss!
I shall sleep through losing!
As by cradle, so by cross,—
Sweet is the reposing!

And God knows, who sees us twain,
Child, at childish leisure,
I am all as tired of pain
As you are of pleasure.
Very soon, too, by his grace
Gently wrapt around me,
I shall shew as calm a face
I shall sleep as soundly!
Differing in this, that you
Clasp your playthings sleeping,
While my hand must drop the few
Given to my keeping.
Differing in this that I
Sleeping must be colder,
And in waking presently,
Brighter to beholder.
Differing in this beside—
(Sleeper, have you heard me?
Do you move, and open wide
Your great eyes toward me?)
That while I you draw withal
From this slumber solely,
Me, from mine, an angel shall,
Trumpet-tongued and holy!

A PRAYER.

BY THE AUTHOR OF VATHEK.

Like the low murmur of the secret stream,
Which through dark alders winds its shaded way,
Thy suppliant voice is heard: ah, do not deem
That on vain toys I throw my life away.

In the recesses of the forest vale,
On the wild mountain, on the verdant sod,
Where the fresh breezes of the morn prevail,
I wander lonely, communing with God.

When the faint sickness of a wounded heart
Creeps in cold shudderings through my sinking frame,
I turn to Thee,—that holy peace impart
Which soothes the invokers of Thy awful name.

O, all-pervading spirit! sacred beam!
Parent of life and light! Eternal Power!
Grant me, through obvious clouds, one transient gleam
Of Thy bright essence in my dying hour!

Miscellany.

EXTRACTS FROM ABBY'S JOURNAL.

[Not yet republished in the United States.]

ILLINOIS.

Illinois is called a free State. By her revised statutes, (1829,) whites marrying negroes or mulattoes are to be whipped, fined, and imprisoned; and the marriage to be *ipso facto* null and void. She decreed at the same time, that "any person who shall disturb the peace and good order of society, by labor or amusement on the first day of the week, shall be fined, not exceeding five dollars." What broad phylacteries these pious people must have!

INCREASE OF SLAVES.

Kentucky has added, in successive decades, from 1790 to 1830, to her numbers, 30,914—37,217—40,171, and 44,618; exhibiting a greater rate of interest on a smaller capital than Virginia. During the same period, the increase in North Carolina was five times as great as it had been from 1810 to 1820. The mind shrinks with horror from the contemplation of these facts. It sees the hand of vengeance on the tocsin; and hears the Sicilian vespers tolling from the Potomac to the Mississippi!

EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

I was anxious to learn whether there were any public schools at the seat of Government. My questions seemed to excite some surprise. There were none in Virginia; but then there were capital races. The training that was denied to the children, was given to the horses;—the breed of the one was improving, while that of the other was degenerating. North Carolina has taken no steps to establish a system of common schools. South Carolina has her colleges, "liberally patronized by the State." What number of children does she educate in her free schools?—8,390 in 1832. There are 12,000 white children between the ages of five and fifteen, in Louisiana, without education. In Kentucky there were, in 1830, according to official reports from 78 counties, but 31,834 children at school, out of 139, 242 between five and fifteen. While the people of Virginia are thus kept in a state of ignorance, an additional ground of disunion and discontent is laid in the political dependence to which they are subject by the qualification and mode of voting. As the former can be obtained by the possession of real estate, the same man can have as many votes as he has possessions in separate counties; whereas the poor man can have but one; and while the poll is taken openly, is subjected to all those influences which the power to reward or punish is seldom slow to apply.

EUROPEAN ESTIMATION OF AN AMERICAN NEUTRAL IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY STRUGGLE.

I thought it more complimentary to apply to him what Dr. Bentley has remarked in the case of an epidemical illusion. "All honorable men and good citizens would prefer to be considered as participating in the excitement, than as having been free from it, and opposed to it, without even daring to resist, or check, or reduce it."

MODE OF REFORMATION.

To treat men as philosophers, in order to teach them philosophy, is to be no philosopher one's self.

THE "AFRICAN SCHOOL" OF BOSTON.

As contributors to the common property, these people have a right to share in the common fund; to be partakers of the national justice, not recipients of the national charity; to be treated as citizens, not as aliens. Why should the schoolmaster make a distinction unknown to the tax-gatherer? Why should there be common duties, and separate privileges, for the great mass of the population living under the same government, speaking the same language, and professing the same religion?

ORIGIN OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REFORM.

But who, in the whole compass of American Literature, has stood up against the brutal superstition of his country? What will posterity say, when they see among the most distinguished of her writers, not one solitary instance of a man who was willing to sacrifice the paltry ambition of the hour to principle;—not one who could rise above the infected atmosphere around him;—not one who had mind enough to perceive the gross idolatry of his contemporaries, or heart enough to denounce it?—while the few who are destined to take the lead as moral teachers, have been reproved for their boldness by those who have usurped the throne, and are repelled from a nearer approach by the very persons who ought to have given them applause, and co-operation.

UNITARIANS.

That the Unitarians as a body, should, while they profess to be the fearless, unbiassed, advocates of freedom, have, as yet, done nothing to show their sincerity, by putting into practice those principles which have cost nobler men their lives or their fortunes, is, however discreditable to America, no matter of surprise. What Jew will admit ham to his table, when the high priest will not eat pork? Parties, coteries, and sects, are governed by their leaders. Whether in politics, literature, or religion, "man-worship," as it is termed, seems to be the fashion of the country. People admire the dial-plate, and forget the works, which alone give it value. The Unitarians know their duty, but they dare not act up to it.

From the Christian World.

A SIMPLE FACT.

Several years ago, while engaged one Sabbath afternoon in circulating the temperance pledge among our colored friends at Pittsburg, I received some sad tales of sorrow from their lips. Among those who signed the pledge, I recollect one who was a married woman, aged thirty-four years, apparently a person of veracity. Her tale was in substance the following:

"When I was *nine* years old, I was sold and taken away from my father and mother, and have never seen them since. They were both Christians. It almost killed my father when he saw me about to be separated from him. I recollect, as the horse stood by the door, and I was put on his back, being too young to walk, my father came up to the horse and took hold of my little feet; and then he prayed to God to take care of me, and while he was praying for me he felt so bad to have me go away that he fainted and fell down on the ground along-side of the horse.

"My mother was a Christian too, and when she bid me farewell, she said, 'Sarah, when you hear I am dead, don't cry for me, I shall be in Heaven. Be a good girl, and prepare to meet me there!' Since that morning, which is now *twenty years*, I have never seen my dear *mother* and *father*; and I never expect to see them in this world. I have eight brothers and sisters scattered about throughout the slave States, and have not seen one of them these *seventeen years*."

Honest reader, have *you a mother?* What would be your feelings if *she* were now toiling on a plantation, and you, her child, had not seen her since you were *nine* years old? Have you a *father?* How would *you* feel if *your* aged father were now a doomed slave, and you had no expectation of seeing him this side of heaven? Are you a father? And have you a little girl whom you love? You never yet knew the pangs of a parent that was not merely sundered from a darling child, but compelled to see that child go forth in infancy, a prey to a merciless world.—Are you a *mother?* And would you not fear that your little daughter, severed from a mother's tender care, would fall an easy prey to sin, and never meet you in heaven?

Friendly reader, do you "*remember them that are in bonds as bound with them?*" If you do, remember this also, that "*Each little mortal*, weak and weary though he be, *can do something* toward making up the mighty stream of human events, as it rolls on to the ocean of eternity."

From a Correspondent of the Louisville Journal.

THE MAMMOTH CAVE.

CROGHAN'S HALL, May 27, 1844.

Here I am, at the very last end of the great Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, ten miles under ground. I say the *last* end, because a few years ago the farthest extremity was believed to be not more than two or three miles from the entrance. Since then, however, the enterprising guide, Stephen, the Columbus of these subterranean regions, has revealed to the gaze of the admiring thousands, a new world of wonders such as the eye of man had never before witnessed. That these discoveries will be farther extended, and a more distant termination made known, I have no doubt, as there are some twenty large branches which still remain in primeval darkness, unexplored.

For seven long hours, (they appeared short to me,) have I been toiling with rapid step to reach this place, and now having properly disposed of my share of venison, chickens, biscuit, pies, strawberries and cream, &c. in company with an agreeable party, and having quenched my thirst at the delicious spring hard by, I feel as if it would be a pleasure to commune for awhile with a kindred spirit above ground, and (with your permission) to act the part of a *cicerone* in reviewing the scenes through which I have lately passed.

Follow me, then, from the Cave House, lamp in hand, down the deep narrow valley leading to the "mouth." The lengthened shadows of the early dawn thicken across our path, embowered by vine-encumbered trees; and

Along these blushing borders, bright with dew,
And in yon mingled wilderness of flowers,
Fair-handed Spring embosoms every grace.

Through the vista which opens before us, mark how the craggy cliffs of Green River tower steep and high from the very brink; their wood-crowned summit and ivy-mantled brow bathed by the rising sun in liquid gold; and observe far down in the quiet vale, the placid green-tinged waters, encircling in their embrace a lovely island.

But far different scenes await us. We feel the cool air of the cave blowing upon us, and descend by winding steps into the dark opening whence it issues. We pass the waterfall, till now invisible, the door, the narrow way, and now we pause in wonder. Our feeble lights fail to dispel the gloom; above, below, around, the distant walls conceal their shadowy outlines—all is darkness. This is the vestibule of the Mammoth Cave. On our right is Audubon's Avenue, so named on account of the numberless bats which hybernate within its remote recesses; in front is the main cave, in which our pathway lies.

Pass we on. The lofty ceiling now appears faintly visible, as the eye becomes more accustomed to the darkness. We pass the Mountain, the Kentucky Cliffs, the Church, with its rock-built pulpit, its natural galleries, and "long-drawn aisles," the clouds, which appear to float away above our heads, the Haunted Avenue, leading to Annatta's Dome; the Spring and Well; the Rocky Cave; the Figured Ceiling; the Grand Turn; and now the cave appears open at the top, and we see the bright stars twinkling on a dark ground, far up in the depths of ether.

Were we to proceed farther, we might see many other places of interest—the Black Chambers, in which the level ceiling, 170 feet wide, is supported by enormous stone pillars; the Cataracts, pouring a constant stream, sometimes so copious as to shake the walls; the Solitary Cave, with its fairy grotto and coral grove; the Temple, with its magnificent dome 120 feet high, and covering an area of two acres; the beautiful Blue Slipper Spring, lined with crystals, a perfect gem; but we will retrace our steps for a short distance, and enter, through an opening on our left, into the Deserted Chambers. We take that branch which will conduct us to the new discoveries. We pass Richardson's Spring, the Side-saddle Pit, and now the Bottomless Pit yawns before us, the *ultima thule* of the Indian inhabitants of the cave, of the saltpetre-makers, and of all later adventurers up to the time of "Stephen the Illustrious," the same who now cheers these nether solitudes with his same echoing song, or ever-during smile—a guide of thousands, and a teacher of the great men of earth in matters pertaining to his vocation.

Ere we cross the tiny foot-bridge before us, we may as well descend this ladder on our right into the Covered Way, and take a peep at Gorin's Dome. We place ourselves at an open window, leaning against a parapet three or four feet high. The guide goes to another place, and sets off a Bengal light. The dazzling glare reveals in front a perpendicular wall, extending as far up as the eye can reach—as far down as the eye can penetrate; the rest is a mighty void, disclosing no limit.

We may now resume our journey, but time would fail, were we to notice more than a few of the hundred branches;

"Caverns in caves, in deeps a lower deep,"

the halls, rooms, and innumerable curiosities scattered over a distance of seven or eight miles. We pass the bridge, on which the timid might fear to tread, could they see the depth of the abyss which it spans; the Persico Avenue, full of formations, and remarkable for its exhilarating air; Silliman's Avenue; the Relief Hall; the narrow Winding Way, [the corpulent might feelingly say of this place, "aye, there's the *rub!*"] the Bacon Rooms in which the pendent canvassed hams make a greater display than any artificial imitation, even in the renowned Porkopolis; the Holy Sepulchre, a recess containing a natural sarcophagus, veiled by stalactic drapery; the river Styx, which is now so low that we shall need no Charon; the Dead Sea, whose deep motionless waters return but a hollow sound when a rock is thrown in. The river Lethe, over which we are soon ferried in a light canoe. Here the celebrated white eyeless fish are usually caught. If you are desirous to obtain one, you must be contented with a craw-fish, which is just as blind, though not as beautiful. We next come to the Echo river, passing, by the way, the entrance to Purgatory, [a filthy name,] a rough, winding, crevice-like passage, which must be threaded whenever the river is so high as to fill the arch above its present surface.

While our guide is preparing for the long voyage which we are about to take, let us observe from this elevation how distinctly the images of all things around us are reflected from the dark waters. We see two boats united at the keel; a Stephen above, and a Stephen below, both smiling so exquisitely natural, that it would be difficult to determine, except from the position, which is the original, and which the unsubstantial counterfeit. But hark! Strains of faintest music now greet the enraptured ear; and now more loud, more clear, the notes swell out and gradually dissolve; echo upon echo repeats the dying sounds, till the whole arch is eloquent with voices, as if ten thousand spirits in one choir were singing their songs of praise before the throne of Him who maketh all things beautiful. Nearer and nearer the sounds approach; and now, far off in the distance, appears the form of a boat as if floating on air.

Four flames blaze upward from the bow, and four descend unquenched; the glare reveals the lovely features of a lady, who sits unconscious of the presence of admirers. It is a party returning from Cleveland's Cabinet. Let us hasten on, and as we pass, we too must try to raise a song. Here everybody sings, it requires so little effort to produce a very respectable effect. In about forty minutes we reach the farther shore, and now stop your ears for a moment while I fire off this light fowling-piece. Crush! thunder! growl!

"Follows the loosened aggravated roar,
Enlarging, deepening, mingling; peal on peal
Crushed horrible, convulsing Heaven and Earth."

Not all the lions in Cæsar's menagerie, nor the great mammoth, (which is believed by many to have inhabited this cave,) nor the peace-maker, nor all together in full concert, could so well imitate the thunders of the upper world.

We now pass Mary's Stalactic Bower, Martha's Vineyard, filled with grapes, which we involuntarily taste, the Bandit's Hall, with its rough scenery, the Sulphur Spring, furnishing an abundance of excellent water, and soon we reach Cleveland's Avenue, in which is the noted Cabinet. The first part which attracts attention is the Snowball Room, snowballs above, sticking to the ceiling, and snowballs under foot. Beyond, for more than a mile, the ceiling and walls are literally covered with brilliant incrustations, white roseta; leaves like those of the Corinthian capitol; involutes more perfect than any carved work; fibrous gypsum, like bundles of spun glass; regularly formed crystals, &c. in endless variety. Visitors generally stop at this place, and return after having dined on the "Round Table," in a hall more gorgeously decorated than that of the knight of old.

But we will extend our walk a few miles farther. We pass the Rocky Mountains, the Dismal Hollow, examine Serena's Arbor—a truly romantic grotto, containing a spring on a stalagmite stand surrounded by beautiful translucent columns; and, taking another branch, arrive at last at the end of our journey in Croghan's Hall, fully repaid for a little extra labor. On our right the murmuring sound of a distant waterfall comes up from a dark abyss; on our left the glassy waveless waters of a spring rest in their quiet basin; in front, a mass of stalactite prevents our farther progress, and now, after having rested awhile, and taken some refreshment, we may, in five hours' fast walking, reach the Cave-House, whence we started.

This brief sketch may appear to you something like exaggeration, but in no particular does it paint in too glowing colors the astonishing reality. A gentleman now present, who has seen the celebrated Grotto of Antiparos, speaks of it as a bauble in comparison. A party lately from Wier's Cave, in Virginia, speaks of that truly interesting place in similar terms. A gentleman from New-York, who is justly proud of his own Niagara, considers this by far the greater wonder.

Come then, and see for yourself—come, whether you still doubt, or whether you believe. A ride through the barrens, blooming all over as a garden of flowers, is alone worth a trip to the cave. Here you will find a pleasant house, an obliging landlord, a table well supplied, a pure air untainted by miasmatic exhalations, and (not least of comforts) rest at night undisturbed by musquetoes. Here their everlasting hum is never heard—their well-sharpened probosces are never felt. Are you fond of field sports? you may kill your own venison, turkeys, pheasants—catch your own fish, and have them cooked in any way to suit your taste. Occasionally a game at nine-pins will furnish appropriate recreation, or, if you prefer a drive through the shady forest, or an excursion on the river, you can be accommodated.

"When twilight dews are falling fast,"

you may listen to the song of some fair lady, accompanied by notes evolved by fairy fingers, from the trembling strings of a piano; or, strolling wherever fancy leads, enjoy the evening promenade. Here summer diseases are unknown, and all the vicissitudes of weather may be avoided. This crowning advantage you may soon be able to appreciate, and, if not here, be forced to exclaim:

"In vain I sigh,
And restless turn, and look around for night;
Night is far off, and hotter hours approach.
Thrice happy he! who on the sunless side
Of a romantic mountain, forest-crowned,
Beneath the whole collected shade reclines;
Or in the *Mammoth Cave*, divinely wrought,
And fresh bedewed with ever spouting streams,
Walks coolly calm; while all the world without,
Unsatisfied and sick, tosses in noon."

Your ever faithful friend, F. E. L.

From Punch's Complete Letter Writer.

CHARACTER OF SERVANTS.

LETTER No. 1.

From a Lady inquiring the character of a Servant.

Madam—Bridget Duster having applied to me for a place of maid-of-all-work, I beg to learn of you as her last mistress, her fitness for the serious responsibility of that situation Having suffered so much from impertinence and wickedness of servants—(I have often thought they were only sent into this world to torment respectable people)—you will, I am sure, forgive me if I appear somewhat particular in my inquiries. Experience, madam, has made me circumspect. There was a time when I thought all the world as good and honest as myself; but house-keeping wipes the bloom from the human heart, and makes us lock our tea-caddies.

I have kept house for five-and-twenty years, in which time I have endeavored to find a servant who should be without a fault, yet, though I have given eight pounds a year, with tea and sugar—would you believe it?—I have never once succeeded. However, I must say it, I like the face of Bridget; I never saw a deeper small pox. As for handsome servants, I never have 'em; they always think more of their faces than their fire irons, and are puckering up their mouths at the looking-glass when they should be rubbing the door-plate. Curls, too, I never suffer to cross my threshold. I know more than one instance in which curls have destroyed the peace of a family.

For my money, a servant can't be too plain; in a word, I think ugliness to be a sort of cheap livery intended by nature for maids-of-all-work—it keeps 'em in their proper place, and prevents 'em thinking of foolishness. So far, Bridget's looks are most satisfactory.

And, now, madam, for the article of dress. Servants have never been servants since linsey-woolsey went out. It makes my very flesh creep to see 'em flaunting about, for all the world as if they were born to silk gowns and open-work in their stockings. I *have* seen a house-maid go out for the day with a parasol! I prophesied her end, and—poor wretch!—so it came about. What I have suffered, too, from such presumption! I once had a creature who copied every new cap I had, violating, my best feelings under my own roof! Bridget looks a humble dresser, fit for a kitchen; I trust she is so.

I hope, however, she is sober. When servants are very plain, they sometimes, to revenge themselves on nature, fly to drink. This is shocking; for with such people, with all one's locking and bolting, one's brandy is never safe.

In the next place, does Bridget break? Not but what I always make my servants pay for all they destroy; still, they can't pay for one's nerves. Again, there is this danger—they may break beyond their wages.

Is Bridget honest? Pray, madam, be particular on this point, for I have been much deceived. I once took a servant with the finest character for honesty; and, only a week afterwards detected her giving three cold potatoes to a little hurdy-gurdy foreigner with white mice.

Is Bridget civil? Will she bear wholesome reproof? A servant who answers is my abomination. It is clearly flying in the face of the best interests of society. Surely, people who pay wages have a right to find what fault they please; it is the natural privilege that marks the mistress from the maid I would have a severe law to punish a servant who answers—even if right.

Is Bridget an early riser, without any reference to the time she may be allowed to go to bed? A good maid-of-all-work should, so to speak, be like a needle and always sleep with one eye open.

Has Bridget any followers? Such creatures I never allow. I conceive that a servant ought to be a sort of nun, and, from the moment she enters your house, should take leave of all the world besides. Has she not her kitchen for willing hands always to do something in? And then for company doesn't she see the butcher, the baker, the dustman—to say nothing of the sweeps?

Is Bridget industrious—is she clean? I hope for the poor creature's sake, that you may be able to answer these few questions to my satisfaction, when Bridget may immediately bring her boxes. With me, her duties will be few, but they must be punctually performed. Indeed, I require a servant to consider herself a sort of human kitchen clock. She must have no temper, no sulks, no flesh-and-blood feelings, as I've heard impudent hussies call their airs and graces, but must go as regularly through her work as though she was made of steel strings and brass pullies. For such a person, there is a happy home in the house of

Your obedient servant,
PAMELIA SQUAW.

LETTER II.

From a Servant inquiring the character of a Mistress.

Dear Molly—Finding that you're in a place next door to Mrs. Squaw, remembering what friends we used to be when both of us lived with the pastry cook, I have thought fit to write to you to inquire about your neighbor. It's all very fine, Molly, for mistresses to haggle about the characters of their maids, but surely, we poor servants have as much right to inquire about the character of our mistresses. However, folks who pay wages will always have the upper hand in this world, whatever to our comfort may happen to 'em afterwards.

I thank my stars I don't judge of people by their looks, otherwise I wouldn't go into Mrs. Squaw's kitchen, if it was made of gold; she's dreadful ugly, to be sure, but I don't despise her for that, if her temper is sweet. I can't bear a mistress that's always nagging and nagging. A good noise, once in awhile, I don't mind—it brisks up one's blood; but I've known mistresses always pushing their words at you and about you, as if they were sticking pins in a cushion with no flesh and blood.

How does she like her maids to dress? Mind, I don't insist on ringlets in the house,, but when I go out I'm my own mistress. I've given up two places for my bird of paradise feather—it looks quite alive in my white chip!—and would give up twenty. After slaving among pots and pans for a month, it is so sweet to be taken sometimes for a lady on one's Sunday out.

And now, dear Molly, tell me truly; does Mrs. Squaw drink? I have lived in one family where the mistress kept a bottle in a thing that looked for all the world like the covering of a book. No wages should make me do this again; and—perhaps I am wrong—but looking at Mrs. Squaw, I thought I never saw a redder nose. When a mistress has such a habit, a poor girl's character is never safe.

I've agreed to pay for all I break, but that I don't mind, as I never break nothing—it is always the cat. But then I've known the mistresses mean enough to put off a cracked basin on a poor servant. What is Mrs. Squaw's character for crockery?

Mrs. Squaw asked me if I had any followers, as she allowed of no such thing. I said—and truly, Molly—that I had nobody that followed *me;* but Molly, there is a young man that I have followed these two years, and will, so long as I've eyes to stare and limbs to move. Such a sweet creature; six feet one inch and a half without his boots! Such a mustachio on his lip! Such a delicate thing, just the color of a leech! He's in the Life Guards, Molly; quite a building of a man. You can't think how fond he is of me: for these two last years he's smoked my wages in cigars. I lost one place about him, and gloried in it! It was one quarter day, and he came whistling about the area. Mistress saw his red coat, and ringing the bell, asked me what I meant by harboring a low soldier? My blood was up like ginger beer. "It's all very well for you," says I, "to say a low soldier. But ma'am," says I, "you you don't know what it is to be courted by a Life Guardsman."

Oh, these mistresses, Molly! They think poor servants have no more flesh and blood than a porridge skillet. They can have their comfortable courtings in their parlors and drawing rooms: and then with their very toes at the fire, they can abuse a poor servant for only whispering a very bit of love, all among the snow, perhaps in the area. This is the treatment that often makes poor girls desperate, and drives 'em to marriage long afore their time.

No followers, indeed! No; they think that the cat and the kettle, and the kitchen clock, are company enough for a poor servant. They never think of us in the long winter nights, when they are playing at cards, or chatting with folks who have dropped in—they never think of us, all alone as we are, without a soul to speak to! No; we must have no followers, though, perhaps, the parlor's ringing again with laughter; and our only chance of opening our lips, is the chance of being sent out to get oysters for the company.

However, dear Molly, write me all you know about the character of Mrs. Squaw. If she's sober, and gives civil words and regular wages to her servants, I don't mind having her for a mistress until the sweet day arrives when I become a soldier's wedded lady. Till then,

Believe me, your friend and old fellow-servant,
BRIDGET DUSTER.

From the Southwestern Christian Advocate.

A LIVING WONDER.

Within five miles of Huntsville, Alabama, there lives a negro boy. He was seventeen years old last August, and weighs over two hundred pounds. But his *body* is not the wonder. It is his *mind*, if it may be said he has any.

On the 8th of June, 1844, Rev. John C. Burruss, Mr. T. Brandon and myself went to see him, and were amazed. From himself and Mr. McLemore, (his master,) we learned that he has no idea of a God. When asked, "who made you?" he answered, "nobody." He has never been but a few times half a mile from the place of his birth. He has not mind enough to do the ordinary work of a slave; eats and sleeps in the same house with the white folks, having his own table and bed. He will not ask for anything, nor touch food, however hungry, unless it be offered to him. He was never known to commence a conversation with any one, nor continue one, further than merely answering questions in the fewest words. He speaks very low and tardily. He has never been known to utter a falsehood, or to steal, and is but little subject to anger—will not *strike* a dog or anything else; but when vexed by his sister, he will take hold of her arm, as if he would break it with his hands. He cannot be persuaded to taste intoxicating liquors. His utter aversion to this bane, is either the result of his having seen its effects in his master, or it is instinctive. He has never manifested any predilection for the sex. There is nothing remarkable in the configuration of his head or his countenance, save that his eyeis uncommonly convex, and continually rolling about with a wild and glaring expression. His laugh and movements are perfectly idiotical. He does not know a letter or figure. Withal, in one respect, he is the most extraordinary human being I ever saw. Almost his only manifestation of mind, is in relation to numbers. His power over *numbers* is at once extraordinary and incredible. Take any number under one hundred, and ask him its product when multiplied into itself, or into any other number, and he will state it at once, as readily as any one who can give the sum of 12 times 12. He multiplies thousands, adds, subtracts, and divides with the same certainty, though with more mental labor. He has, however, no idea of numbers above millions.

With pencil and paper we made the following calculations, and asked him the questions, thus: "How much is 99 times 99?" he answered immediately, "9,801." "Well; how much is 74 times 86 1-2?" He answered, 6,401. "How many nines in 2,000?" He answered, "two hundred and twenty-two nines, and two over." How many fifteens in 3,356? He answered, "323 fifteens and 11 over." How many twenty-threes in 4,000? He answered, 173 twenty threes and 21 over." How much is 321 times 789? He answered after a short pause, 252,369. If you take 21 from 85, how many will be left? He answered, 64. If you take 4,111 from 5,920, how many will be left? He answered 1,809. How much is 7 times 9,22 and 14? He answered, 99. How many is 17 times 17 and 16? He said, 305. If you had to give one dollar and a half for one chicken and a half, how much would you have to give for two chickens? He said, "*two dollars.*"

If a stick, standing straight up, three feet long, makes a shadow five feet long, how high would a pole be, that has a shadow thirty feet long? At this he put his hand to his chin, drew himself up, and gave a silly laugh. His master said, he did not understand such as that. We then asked him, how much is 3,333 times 5,555. In this instance, as in some of the others, he looked serious, began to twist about in his chair, to pick his clothes, finger nails, to look at his hands, put the points of his thumbs to his teeth, move his lips a little, and then seemed to think a little, and then his countenance would give indications of mental agony; and so on. His master told him to walk about and rest himself. He went into the yard and appeared to be alternately elated with rapture, and depressed with gloom. He would run, jump up, throw his arms into the air above his head; then stand still, and then drag his foot over the weeds, look up and down; in a word he took on all sorts of crazy motions. We sat down to dine, and when we arose, we found him on the piazza sitting down perfectly composed. On being told he had done it, I said, how much is it? He answered, "eighteen millions, five hundred and fourteen thousand, eight hundred and fifteen." What? said I. he replied, "18,514,815."

We could get no clue to the mental process by which he ascertained such results. When asked, how he did it; his unvarying answer was, "I studies it up." But what do you do first, and what next? He merely drawled out, "I studies it up." He did not count on his fingers, nor anything external, nor indeed did he seem to count at all; and yet he combined thousands and millions, and played with their combinations, just as others would do with units. All the instruction he ever received, was from his master, who taught him to count one hundred; and would ask him how many twenties in a hundred, and how many fives, &c.

On the following Monday I saw him again, and asked him what was that hard sum I gave him last Saturday. He replied, "3,333 times 5,555." On Saturday we told him there were 365 days in a year, and twenty-four times that would give the hours, which he said was 8,760; sixty times that, the minutes; and he said, 5,256,000; and sixty times that the seconds and he said 31,536,000. On Monday, I asked him how many seconds in a year; and he recollected the number. Being then asked how much is 24 1-2 times 48 1-2; he answered, 1,188. How much is 15 times 41 and 78 and and 7? He said, 700. How many thirty-threes in 777? He said, "23 thirty-threes and 18 over." His recollection of numbers is almost as wonderful as his power to combine them. I submit these *facts*, to the consideration and reasoning of mental philosophers; for whoever has carefully read this paper, knows about as much as I know of this *living wonder.*

JOHN W. HANNER.

Huntsville, Alabama, June 11, 1844.

Graham House, 63 Barclay St.

CITIZENS, or transient visitors desiring a quiet home, where a real Temperance diet is proffered them, consisting of Vegetables, Fruits, &c. without stimulants or flesh meats, are invited to patronize this house. Terms moderate. Shower-baths free.

August 8. ROSWELL GOSS.

Books,

For Sale at the Office of the American A. S. Society, 142 Nassau St. N. Y.

THE LIBERTY BELL of 1844, an Annual, published for the Massachusetts Fair, and consisting of various original articles, from the ablest Anti-Slavery writers in this country, Great Britain and Ireland.

XIMENA, AND OTHER POEMS, by *James Bayard Taylor.* Philadelphia, 1844.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THIEVES, or a true picture of the AMERICAN CHURCH AND CLERGY, by *S. S. Foster;* and various other standard Anti-Slavery works.

New-York, July 4, 1844.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of fifteen or twenty boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association.—The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*

BROUGHTON MEADOWS, Northampton, April 14, 1844.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent.* Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished